

DETROIT AND BEYOND: The Continuing Quest for Justice



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A Word of Introduction

The more the Center of Concern staff has seen of the Liberty and Justice for All process, the more hopeful we have become. Over the many months of its unfolding, we have been involved along with many others in a variety of ways. Three staff members were delegates to the Call to Action conference. As a contribution toward that meeting, the Center prepared its own critique and offered reflections on the process and program. Following the conference, the Center newsletter told the Detroit story in brief. In addition, we have had numerous discussions with other delegates and informed persons and have assessed news stories and reports. In all that has happened, we feel the Bicentennial program of the U. S. bishops has more than lived up to its promise.

And now, the Center offers **DETROIT AND BEYOND: THE CONTINUING QUEST FOR JUSTICE**. This tabloid lays out for you the reasons for our hopefulness. It offers our analysis of the entire process including the recommendations made at the Detroit conference. We hope that this piece, like our first **QUEST FOR JUSTICE** prepared in response to the 1971 Synod and circulated to 200,000 readers, will contribute to the ongoing search for justice.

DETROIT AND BEYOND: THE CONTINUING QUEST FOR JUSTICE is a team effort. It does not express the complete or nuanced thought of any single staff member but rather it is a joint product of interdisciplinary and prayerful reflection by all the staff. We do not pretend to offer a finished paper but look forward to new insights and

further developments as the Detroit process continues and many others share their reflections.

Also, **DETROIT AND BEYOND** is not the complete story of the two-year Liberty and Justice for All Program. First, because the process itself has not been completed. Second, because we have not explored all the topics included in the program but have limited ourselves to those in which we have some competence. Accordingly, you will find more on world justice, the role of women, the church of service, church/labor relations, education for justice, etc., and less on the family, ethnicity, racism, neighborhoods. We look to other groups expert in these important areas to learn from them. In our writing we have tried to avoid sexist language; quotations however had to be left in their original form.

A final word of thanks to those who made the Liberty and Justice for All Program possible. In a special way we address our gratitude to the bishops for their initiative and leadership throughout and the trust they placed in their people; to the advisory committee for first suggesting the idea; to the Bicentennial staff of the U. S. Catholic Conference for implementing the process; and to all who took part along the way. We dare hope that with phases one and two successfully completed, phase three will be enthusiastically launched by the bishops at their May meeting energizing the whole Catholic community into a five year program for justice.

PART ONE:

Background and Process

I. INTRODUCTION

Liberty and Justice for All, the bishops' program to celebrate the nation's Bicentennial, was a great event in the life of the U. S. Catholic community. Begun in 1974 with outreach to the church at the local and diocesan level, it marked the end of a first phase at a conference, A Call to Action, in Detroit, October 1976. There, under the chairing of Cardinal John Dearden, the delegates voted an agenda of social action for the next five years, actions for justice affecting the church as well as society at large.

To celebrate that historic and great happening, the staff of the Center of Concern dedicates this full-length reflection on the Liberty and Justice for All Program. We believe that the preparatory process and the conference in Detroit were momentous, that they must not be lost. We plead that the movement begun in 1974, be moved forward from Detroit to the annual bishops' conference in May of this year, and then on into the next five years.

From the outset, the Center staff acknowledges our bias. We think the Detroit conference was a great day, because we see in it a church of renewal, a church not centered inward on itself but committed outward in compassion to seek freedom and justice for all. Because of this, we will not easily be dispassionate in what follows. We are biased in favor of the kind of church we saw aborning in Detroit.

We also believe that in the main the recommendations of Detroit stand up, though we are quick to acknowledge that the sheer number of them renders necessary a prioritizing of them.

We have said that without the initiative and continuing sponsorship, leadership and participation of the bishops, the Detroit gathering could not have happened. Neither can the Detroit recommendations be carried into the years ahead without that same episcopal support. Some bishops, we know, are reluctant to acknowledge their off-spring that came to birth at Detroit. We do not believe they should feel so, for the infant is not sick but healthy—weak, perhaps, but not malformed.

Indeed are not the recommendations issuing from the Detroit assembly in line with the U. S. bishops' own pastorals, with Vatican II, with the two synods of 1971 and 1974, and with the great writings of Pope Paul VI on social questions, particularly his latest Apostolic Exhortation *On Evangelization in the Modern World*?

II. THE BISHOPS' BICENTENNIAL PROGRAM

What Is It?

The National Conference of Catholic Bishops (NCCB) initiated a two-year program, in honor of the nation's Bicentennial, called Liberty and Justice for All, which climaxed in the Call to Action Conference in Detroit.

Called to whom? From what? To what?

The call is to the U. S. Catholic community, first to the people of the parishes and then to the 1,340 delegates from 152 dioceses who represented them at Detroit and who there constituted a kind of first national assembly. It is a call from the U. S. bishops, but framed as a call equally "from the Gospel, Vatican II, and the teaching of the church's leadership." (WP, Intro.) It is cited also as a call from "the needs and hopes of all the people." (Ibid.)

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS:

Ch	—Church	WP	—Working Paper
E/R	—Ethnicity/Race		
Fam	—Family		Recommendations are cited as they are numbered in
Hkd	—Humankind		INS Vol. 6: No. 20 & 21
Nat	—Nationhood		A.D. 1977 (Quixote
Ngh	—Neighborhood		Center PO Box 651 Hyatts-
Pers	—Personhood		ville, MD 20782)
Wk	—Work		
Guide	—Discussion Guide		Example: E/R III, 4-b=
HR	—National Hearing Report		Ethnicity/Race, Recommen-
			dation III, No. 4, letter b

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Call to what? In general terms, to "carry forward a process of dialogue and open discussion initiated two years ago on how the U. S. Catholic community can contribute to the quest of all people for liberty and justice." (WP, Intro.) The process was designed to produce recommendations to the bishops for the church's social agenda for the next five years.

This process was linked, quite deliberately, to Pope Paul's own *Call to Action* issued in the Apostolic Letter he wrote in 1971. In it, he calls on Christian communities to analyze their concrete situations, and "to shed on them light from the Gospel and from the Church's social teaching," from which sources "they will draw reflection, norms of judgment and directives for action."

There is also an explicit link to Pope Paul's insistence that we recognize that many social ills will go without remedy if we rely exclusively on traditional Catholic social action and do not add the clearly called for political action. "Catholics have collective responsibilities to the nation which, while transcending political parties, are a very important part of the political process."

The bishops also called the community to participate with them in a process of trust. The hierarchy placed its trust in the people of the parishes and in the priests, sisters, and brothers of the country. The bishops trusted this community of God to reflect conscientiously, to speak out openly, and to come up with something sensible. The bishops trusted that, if they recognized the laity's role in helping to plan the church's social agenda, the laity would reciprocate by recognizing the hierarchy's responsibilities as spiritual leaders.

On the participants side, there was a trust that the bishops' invitation to speak out was not an empty gesture nor one of listening only. In particular, they trusted that their work and their recommendations would be taken seriously.

III. PRE-DETROIT: CONSULTATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In initiating their part of the dialogue, the bishops planned a process. Instead of handing down an agenda, the hierarchy sent an invitation to the people of the parishes to express their minds. And the response? That depended on the bishops in their own dioceses. Not all took part in the first stage. However, people in 79 of our 167 dioceses did engage in the process through parish as well as diocesan consultations. Parish people had eight topics for consideration, reflecting the eight communities to which they generally relate: Family, Church, Personhood, Neighborhood, Ethnicity/Race, Work, Nationhood, and finally, Humankind. The participants chose from among these topics as they preferred and dialogued in open fashion. They said what was on their mind, what they saw to be the main issues in each topic area. What topics in fact attracted them most? In percentages their ranking was: Church, 20%; Family, Nationhood, Personhood, all 14%; Humankind and Neighborhood, 10%; Ethnicity/Race and Work, 8%.

The proposed procedure at the parish consultations as at all subsequent levels was to seek to discover in the concrete context of family, church, nation, etc., the call of God through a reading of the "signs of the times." "Through reflection on the words and teaching of Jesus and action, to bear witness to those teachings in the light of the 'signs of the times.'" Participants were requested to listen "to the voice of people in need" from the world around them. Joined to this listening, participants were asked also to be attentive to the message of the Gospel, the church, and its social teaching. In so doing, they would share, as the Synod of 1971 on Justice in the World put it, "in the Church's mission for the redemption of the human race and its liberation from every oppressive situation," a theme invoked with great insistence by Paul VI in his 1975 Apostolic Exhortation *On Evangelization in the Modern World*.

A. Parish and Diocesan Consultations

Attempting to work within this theological framework and within their interests and capacity, the people articulated their views. They were supported in this by a sense of compassion and a vision of the church as serving the community. There emerged from these consultations a set of priorities for action that can be summed up as follows.

Overwhelmingly priorities fell on what was closest to the life of the participants—family, church/parish, youth, the old, the needs of the poor. Actual tabulation of the number of actions proposed on the top-ranking issues runs like this:

church support for family	
activities	44,000 (rounded)
continuing religious education	
for adults	33,000 (rounded)
assist the aging	30,000 (rounded)

share church resources with	
the poor	29,000 (rounded)
help youth	27,000 (rounded)

After these first five, the number of proposals drops to the 15,000-20,000 range. At this point, help for the poor reappears twice. In addition, under the topic of church, parishioners asked that there be better communication of church doctrine and better homilies. The church must minister more generously to community and neighborhood and promote marriage and family. Church leadership ought to share better with the people. Equality for women within the church and in society each received 15,000 votes.

The staff members responsible for computerizing the over 800,000 individual returns point out that these responses do not represent the results of a random sampling of U. S. Catholics. They are solely the outcome from those parishioners who cooperated with the consultations. Only about half of the dioceses responded at this stage of the process. The big metropolitan centers, New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Washington, and Chicago were not among them. Had these centers been a part of the early process, there is the possibility that the aggregate of priorities would have shown more sensitivity for national issues, big city problems, unemployment, racism, war and peace. What seems to have resulted is over-representation in the parish consultations of the interests of white, middle-income people.

B. National Hearings

While the parish- and diocesan-level consultations were going on, the other component of the dialogue, a series of Hearings, was also moving. These were held in seven different key centers across the country, Washington, D. C., Sacramento, San Antonio, Newark, St. Paul-Minneapolis, Atlanta, and Maryknoll, N.Y. To give some focus to the testimony, one of the eight topic areas—Work, Family, Nationhood, etc.—was selected for each place. A typical Hearing met for three days. A panel of approximately forty, including always members of the Bishops' Ad Hoc Bicentennial Committee or other bishops, listened to twenty-five or more experts on the various issues. In addition, as time permitted, local concerned people stated their problems, their pain, in an open, frank and often impassioned manner. For example, the problems of the Mexican-American community were vividly portrayed in San Antonio; rural America spoke out in St. Paul-Minneapolis; racism and the problems of unemployment were paramount in Newark. The bishops were there, faithful to their promise to listen. What they heard played a significant role in preparing them and their brother bishops for the Detroit conference. The 1,500 pages of testimony from these Hearings contain riches that have not thus far been mined.

C. Writing Committee

The record of the Hearings was then turned over to the Writing Committee. Eight clusters of experts, each headed by a bishop, had been selected by the Bicentennial Committee. They were responsible for reflecting upon those areas of the Hearings which fell within their topic, together with the priorities stated by the parishioners. Working with that material, the writers turned out eight slim volumes, one on each topic, in preparation for the Detroit gathering. Each of the eight volumes contained an historical perspective on the topic; a summary of the evidence derived from the parish consultations and the Hearings; the Writing Committee's own reflections; and, finally a set of recommendations.

The writers did their work well. The Detroit delegates liked what they read in the Working Papers which they received one month in advance of Detroit. With these Working Papers as a basis for deliberation, they then moved on to add their own reflections. As a result, a new set of recommendations emerged from Detroit largely, however, ratifying the writers' recommendations, but adding detail or further precision—rarely anything new.

IV. DETROIT

Cobo auditorium is one component of Henry Ford, Jr.'s half-billion dollar Detroit River renewal project. From October 21-23, 1976, its exceptionally fine facilities housed over 100 bishops, the 1,140 delegates chosen by bishops of 152 dioceses, the additional 92 delegates representing national Catholic organizations, and the 1,000 or more observers who chose to attend but had no official status.

Who were these delegates? In what spirit did they work? What was their process? What did they produce?

A. Delegates

Who were the delegates? Some of the less sympathetic Catholic papers called them "kooks," "way-out



Detroit delegates with a wide variety of concerns.

liberals" or "people on a high."

Whoever they turned out to be, in choosing them the bishops had been invited to follow certain norms. Unless the diocese was extremely large, only nine delegates could be selected. The nine were to be a blend of laity, clergy, religious women and men. They were to include representatives of the racial or ethnic groups within the diocese.

In their selection, the bishops seem to have turned to people in the parishes or in the diocesan headquarters who, they thought, would have the expertise and/or experience required to deal with the issues under discussion. The delegate composition at Detroit demonstrated that the bishops were concerned to have a fair representation of "victims of injustice." Some individuals, eager to help the bishops in their choosing, offered themselves for the delegation. This seems to explain in part the presence of very perceptive and vocal religious women. It may also account for the high number of Marriage Encounter people, who were able to gather as many as 125 delegates out of their total number present, for their daily caucus.

However the bishops managed their selection, it was striking to see a good representation of youth and women. In fact, the voice of women was engaged as never before in any U.S. Catholic Church assembly. Blacks and native Americans were also in unusual prominence. In addition, 10% of the delegates were Spanish-speaking. (Ideally, they should have been 25% to reach their proportion of the total Catholic membership.)

No matter what individual bishops intended, they produced an extraordinarily homogeneous group of delegates. A profile would probably indicate that they were lay people, clerics, and sisters largely engaged in active social ministry at local, diocesan, or national levels. This perception will be tested by a survey of the delegates under the direction of the Bicentennial Committee.

The charge has been repeatedly made that the Detroit assembly was not representative of the U.S. Catholic Church. Several things can be said about this charge. First of all, as mentioned above, the bishops themselves chose the delegates. Secondly, if they are presumed unrepresentative on the score of their recommendations, then neither were the writers, chosen by the Bishops' Bicentennial Committee, for there is little difference in the resolutions of the two groups. Finally, the recommendations as a whole are not inconsistent with the bishops' own pastorals issued over recent years and in the spirit of Vatican II.

Still, the charge is correct if strict numerical representation according to income level, political predilection, pre-Vatican II or post-Vatican II theology is the criterion. On the score of being unrepresented perhaps

more conservative church-goers do have a legitimate complaint, but it should be laid before the bishops who did the choosing. The absence of Catholics of a more conservative persuasion, however, may have been their own fault. When the bishops looked for people engaged in church, civic and social life, the conservatives may not have been that visible.

Nevertheless, had they been at Detroit in larger numbers, the consensus arrived at there would have been strengthened. Strengthened—but not changed. Strengthened, because their voices and votes would have been registered. They would not, however, have changed the final results except to reduce moderately the staggering majorities accorded virtually all the recommendations.

But if the conservatives were not at the Detroit gathering in adequate numerical proportion to their numbers in the U.S. church, neither were others who deserved representation—the unemployed, the old and abandoned, the really poor, the hopeless, and another whole world of people for whom Americans inevitably bear some responsibility, the unfed millions, the poor, the powerless of Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

However if the church of the United States is a post-Vatican II church, then the Detroit delegates were eminently representative. Their recommendations, in harmony with the synods of 1971 and 1974 and following Vatican II directives insisted over and over again that the church must be committed to the doing of justice as inseparable from the preaching of the gospel.

B. Spirit in Which Delegates Worked

It does not seem unwarranted to describe the Detroit assembly as a faith community, radiant, joyous, and open. On the whole people showed themselves ready to listen. In the smaller sectional meetings and still smaller work committees, which allowed for fuller participation than possible in the plenary assemblies, they accepted contradiction and gracefully submitted to having their best ideas discarded. In this kind of give-and-take, the bishops won wide admiration. The delegates also showed themselves open to hear and entertain positions which they never heard defended in their own church circles. At Detroit these appeared fully defensible.

The delegates, in contrast to the preliminary parish encounters, worked with a sense of urgency. There was another difference. Where people at the local level had felt powerless, those in Detroit experienced the opposite, a strong sense of power. They were people familiar with reflecting on a wider range of church and social issues than the average church-goer. They came with a fund of knowledge and quickly assimilated new ideas. Knowledgeable about how to move ideas into action, they felt that their efforts could result in suitable church response.

The faith community of Detroit proved themselves to be daughters and sons of Vatican II. For them, the gathering of Detroit was the work of the Holy Spirit. They sought to discover Christ's call to his church in this hour. Like the Council, they set about reading the "signs of the times."

The Detroit assembly understood the church to be a loving, trusting community of believers. They understood their church as a servant church ministering to the needs of all but especially to the poor and the powerless; a church that seeks to bring justice into the world; a church concerned to build faith and human community. In that church, they wrote, there are many ministries and the laity rightfully share in them. Their recommendations demonstrate a gospel spirit and a freedom from politics. A compassionate search for justice for all impelled them to include in their recommendations virtually any and every minority that asked for inclusion. One notable exception is the short shrift accorded the business community.

C. Process—Forging a Consensus

Prior to their arrival in Detroit, the delegates had been provided the opportunity to meet in one of seventeen regional assemblies for a full day of trial run, a sort of how-to-do-it. They actually practiced all the steps they were to use in Detroit. These preparatory meetings were held to ensure that, once in Detroit, delegates would not be inhibited from taking an effective part in the process—posing a question, proposing an amendment, questioning procedure, and so forth.

How did the delegates see their task? We have already answered that question, but we return to one important point. This is the trust relationship initiated by the bishops in the pre-conference stages. Delegates who were not bishops believed that the latter were trusting them to have a competence for reading the "signs of the times" and for discerning with the guiding Spirit where the church should be moving.

The delegates believed the bishops wanted them to say what was on their minds. The laity joined sisters, brothers, and priests in honestly expressing differences on some issues from stated episcopal positions. In short, the delegates understood that their task was to respond in faith and trust and hope to the bishops' invitation to carry forward the Bicentennial process that had reached them in the Working Papers. The recommendations they found in those papers were theirs for rejection or acceptance, revision or amendment.

The delegates also understood—recommendations evidence this—that once they had exercised their given responsibility, the bishops would as spiritual leaders of the church assume corresponding responsibilities for deciding what to do about the recommendations. There was no evidence that the delegates believed they were forcing the hand of the hierarchy, commanding their bishops. There was no evidence that they really believed that all their 251 proposals even if in no way exceptionable, would be acted upon favorably, at least in the immediate future.

At the conference's opening plenary, Cardinal Darden, the chairperson, took ample time to reassure the delegates that the hierarchy indeed wanted to hear from them—that their bishops were prepared to share with them responsibility for programming church action.

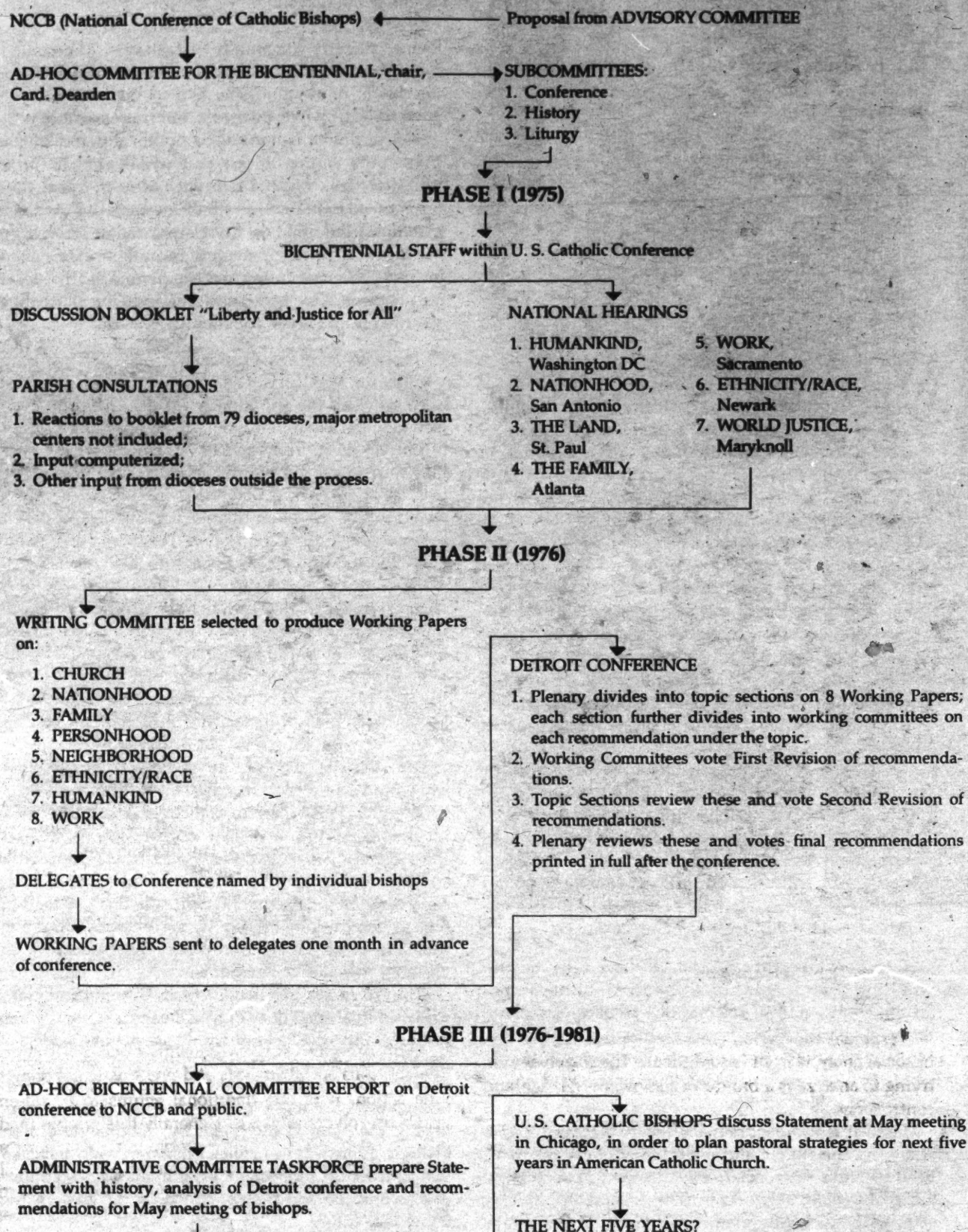
The 1,340 delegates sat in tiers along the long wall facing the dais. The observers, about 1,000 of them, sat in bleachers at either end of the hall. A proposal for the observers to be permitted to attend the sectional and working committee sessions was affirmed by a large majority of the delegates. A second proposal that observers also be given the vote was turned down by the delegates who argued that this proposal would eliminate their assigned function. There can be no question that the observers played a very significant role. Many were highly informed advocates for specific causes. In some if not all the sectional meetings, they were voted permission to speak to the issues and often their voices were highly effective. Unquestionably, they were part and parcel of the Detroit consensus.

The forging of that consensus moved through a series of stages. After the opening plenary, delegates dispersed to their assigned sectional meetings—Family, Work, Nationhood, etc. Each section, after some general discussion and clarification, was further broken down into working committees. Each committee was responsible for one particular recommendation from the initial Working Papers. At this level, recommendations were thoroughly reviewed, re-drafted, enlarged, made more specific, and then, returned to the full section for amendment, endorsement, or rejection. Once approved at the sectional level, the recommendations were then submitted for vote in the final plenary assembly.

In addition, many delegates met in caucus. We have mentioned those of the Marriage Encounter group. There were also caucuses of the Hispanic, black, and ethnic delegates and of the Justice and Peace Convergence (a loose alliance of some fifty social action and advocacy groups at work around the country). In caucus, people agreed to make sure that positions they favored would surface in various sections. Some scandal has been expressed at this caucusing, but it surely appears

LIBERTY AND JUSTICE FOR ALL PROCESS

ORIGIN



to be normal democratic procedure. It is not unknown even to ecclesiastical circles, e.g., Vatican Council II, Vatican I, and probably the rest of the councils.

Working quickly, but not hastily, the delegates moved to forge what turned out to be a remarkably tight set of consensus recommendations. It was, it must be repeated, a consensus based on what came to them originally from the eight Writing Committees and from the people who had spoken from the parishes and testified at the Hearings. It was also a consensus among the delegates themselves to the recommendations, clarifications, additions they had chosen to make.

D. Objections to Detroit

Some have objected that the Detroit conference was not faithful to the voices heard from the parishes. But the fact is that continuity does exist from Detroit back to the people. However, an added element must be remembered, that is, the intermediary role played by the Writing Committee. For it was through the prism of the writers, chosen by the Bicentennial Committee, that the light from the parish consultations and the Hearings passed to Detroit.

But even then while exercising their own creativity, the writers exhibited a marked faithfulness to the original material received by them. At the same time it was their assigned task to produce the recommendations which carried through to the Detroit conference.

This at times meant that they had to go further than the parishioners had. For example, the people had given *Work* an extremely low priority. As a consequence, the writers on that topic drew largely from the testimony of the Hearings and created recommendations which would place the church where, in their judgment, it ought to be on this issue. Similarly, because issues of world justice received low priority at the parish level, the process managers decided upon a second full Hearing on Humankind at Maryknoll, N.Y. The writers drew

on this to prepare a set of recommendations for the church on global justice.

Had a purely "democratic" process been followed of responding simply to what had been heard from the parish level, the result would have been a Detroit conference reduced to five instead of eight topics, and within those five, a majority of delegates attending the sections on Family and Church. But even such a process would have been democratic only in the sense that it was what those who chose to attend the parish consultations wanted, not what the church as a whole might choose.

Outspoken leaders and national organizations took over at Detroit and sent the delegates off on a heady, intoxicating trip. Is there anything to this charge which was made in some diocesan papers? The answer has already been substantially given. If anyone programmed the delegates, it was the bishops' own Writing Committee who prepared the seminal recommendations. The delegates took it from there.

As intimated above, these delegates were fairly homogeneous in their concerns, if not also in background. They held common theological convictions about where the church should be and what kind of church it ought to be. Because of their commonality, they quickly converged on issues. Congeniality of mind made it easy for them to trust the work of those delegates in other sections in which they had not and could not participate because assigned to a particular section. Knowing (the caucuses helped here) that other groups had worked with the same intensity and openness of spirit, they were disposed to accept the final recommendations. Perhaps it was an example of "sensus fidelium," i.e., the faithful heard, reflected, prayed, consented.

Into their consensus went, not just the more liberal positions, but also the more traditional ones such as approval of the bishops' position on abortion, primacy

of family values, support of church authority, etc.

But if one were to take seriously the charge of strong leaders' taking over, to which group would one assign this leadership? Marriage Encounter? The strong, vocal, well-organized Hispanic group? The Justice and Peace Convergence? Lay women or religious women? And what national organizations?

To be sure, there were interest blocs. The Hispanic delegates were one bloc. Women constituted another. Women, lay and religious, discovered quickly a common mind on issues of justice for women in church and society. The Justice and Peace Convergence groups had, through exchange of views over the last few years, built up a consensus of their own that covered much of the agenda of Detroit. There were enough military chaplains (17) to constitute a minor bloc, a bloc with an agenda it hoped to push. And, of course, some dioceses chose their delegates precisely to support approved positions.

A strong piece of evidence that the delegates were not manipulated comes from the Writing Committee. They were present at Detroit to contribute, upon request, understanding of their recommendations, without defense of them or opposition to change. When asked after the conference for an evaluation, they reported that there was no manipulation, that on the contrary their recommendations were in the main accepted and approved. What looked to some like steamrolling was rather snowballing. Momentum gathered from one stage to another as more and more of the growing consensus established itself.

Quite naturally, leaders did emerge in the debates. But if these achieved prominence, it was owing to the merit of what they had to say. No spokesperson talked without recognition from the chair. Anyone out of order was quickly brought into line. All one could do was present as effectively as possible a position within the designated time limits.

It has also been charged that in the final plenary, little respect was shown for those holding minority positions. In reality, all such persons had the freedom to present in writing whatever amendment they wanted, even if their amendment had been defeated in the sectional divisions. The delegates to the end were prepared to listen and weigh what was being proposed.

It has been argued also against the conference that there were no roll calls. The difficulty of getting through the mass of resolutions made rolls an impossibility. This procedure had been agreed upon long before the Detroit meeting.

The delegates have also been charged with voting for programs without thought for the cost or who would or could carry them out. But is that fair criticism? After all, the delegates were not politicians or church administrators charged with responsibility for making feasibility studies, drawing up budgets, allocating responsibilities. Quite the contrary, as we have said repeatedly, their assigned task was to communicate to church leaders a statement of their priorities. The delegates were not completely unmindful of the exigencies their agenda carried. They twice voted down in the final plenary, amendments that would have dictated to the bishops a timetable and a procedure for review.

Another argument raised against the plenary was that the lack of time to consider anything thoroughly, coupled with the desire to report out concrete resolutions, resulted in undue haste. A number of bishops expressed this conviction. In fact, most agreed that it was unfortunate that there was not more time at the final plenary. Responsibility for this lies, of course, not with the delegates but with the process managers. But did the lack of time in fact do much damage? This we are inclined to doubt for reasons already stated. The consensus built up from the working committees through the sectional meetings and into the final plenary was too strong to be shifted in substance in the final hours.

E. The Final Assembly

Because a consensus had developed, the delegates could with some tranquillity confine their attention during the long hours of the final plenary to the amendments as they came to the floor. It must always be borne in mind in analyzing the work of the final voting assembly, that deeper study and full discussion had already been carried on in the working and sectional meetings before. The plenary was the final forum mainly for amendments. But even these amendments for the most part had already been heard and debated in the various sections. There were about 180 such amendments. Of them some 60 were supported and nearly 100 were either rejected or denied consideration by large majorities. Unfortunately, a final 30 or so amendments on the Personhood chapter had to be tabled due to the brevity of time. These amendments, along with the recommendations from the section, were sent forward to the bishops for consideration, but without the benefit of a voting record or of having even been seen by the full assembly.

It surely is admissible that there could be a better way of having conducted the Call to Action Conference. But by its fruits you shall know the tree. And what is wrong with its fruits?

Social Analysis

INTRODUCTION

- What was the social analysis of the Liberty and Justice for All process?
- Did the process even have a social analysis?
- Why is social analysis important?
- What is social analysis anyway?

These are some of the questions we can ask ourselves within a church seeking to read the "signs of the times." Since there was little evidence of an awareness of the importance of social analysis in the Liberty and Justice for All process, we believe it helpful to address this question. We will devote Part I of this chapter to the last two questions (social analysis in general)—at a quite elementary level—and Part II to the first two questions (the Call to Action's social analysis).

PART ONE

I. SOCIAL ANALYSIS—Is It Important?

Social analysis is the attempt to understand how societies work, in order to influence their processes. This particular kind of attempt to understand social process uses scientific tools, which we know as the many disciplines of human science—economics, political science, sociology, anthropology, psychology, etc.

There are many controversies among different schools of social analysis about the assumptions which underlie human science, about their relation to human values, about the nature and division of the distinct disciplines, and about many other questions. Behind these controversies are different visions about the meaning, structure, and process of humanity's common life. In that sense, we might say that social analysis always contains within it, implicitly or explicitly, a theology of life.

For this reason, modern theology and pastoral planning in the church increasingly are bound up with human science and social analysis. To speak the Word of God in today's complex, dynamic, and controversial world requires that the church understand the issues, structures, processes, and consciousness of the society in which it moves.

There are many dimensions to social analysis. Sometimes it focuses on isolated *issues* like employment, inflation, or population policy. At other times, social analysis investigates the broad social *structures* of our economic, political, and cultural institutions, from which issues surface. Still beyond the analysis of issues and structures is the analysis of entire social *systems* and of the wide variety of *levels* within systems. Local neighborhoods, towns, villages, regions of the country, and the whole nation are systems. Even beyond that, the whole world functions more and more as a single system. This is particularly true when we bring nature or ecology into our analysis, for within this matrix, all humans form a single, interdependent family. The support systems of water, air, and earth are common to us all.

In addition to the various levels at which social systems operate, there are also different *kinds* of social systems, with echoes at each level. These systems are analyzed and named differently by different schools of thought in the scientific tradition. Some, for instance, differentiate systems into primitive, traditional, and modern (and perhaps post-modern) societies. Others speak of modes of production—among them the classical, the feudal, the capitalist, and the socialist. All schools recognize, however, that no social system exists in a pure form, but rather that some mixture, with one form predominating, is the typical case.

One very obvious example of different systems is the distinction between socialism and capitalism, and yet even this is not always clear. In popular consciousness, people link capitalism's economic life with the free market and socialism with a planned economy. Yet we know that there are many kinds of capitalisms and socialisms not always easily classified. Thus there are capitalist economies with little central planning and relatively free markets, and others with massive central planning and quite restricted markets. So too there are socialist economies with significant market sectors and others with few. In our own country, this capitalist economy had little planning in its early stages, while in more recent times, planning has become a major factor, both from government and within the private sector itself.

In political terms, we often think of capitalism as linked with free democracy and socialism with totalitarian dictatorship. Yet there are both democratic and dictatorial forms of socialism, and both democratic and dictatorial forms of capitalism. We may recall that Hitler's Germany remained a capitalist economy, while Stalin's Russia was viewed as socialist, yet both were widely seen as totalitarian governments. Similarly, the

U.S. is seen as heavily capitalist and Sweden as heavily socialist, yet both are recognized as relatively open democracies.

In cultural terms, socialism is often linked with atheism while capitalism is linked with Christianity. But experience has shown that there are both believers and non-believers who are adherents of each system. It is true that the most militant strands of socialism have been officially hostile to religion, but in many cases they have not been able to repress religion, and more often are forced to accommodate to it, as in modern Poland. It is also true that capitalism has generally supported Christianity in some loosely official way, but we also know that the capitalist spirit has at times bred a materialism and ruthlessness quite opposed to the Gospel. Thus, the ideological controversy continues between the adherents of capitalism and those of socialism, but only careful analysis of each particular case can make clear what is really being defended.

Thus another dimension in social analysis is the distinction between rhetoric and reality. The Polish socialist government, for example, claims to be an instrument of the workers, yet it is terribly threatened when its workers revolt over a 70% increase in food prices. Likewise, the present Chilean capitalist government took power by force in order to defend the fatherland, freedom, the family, and Christianity. Yet it has inflicted great suffering on large masses of families, repressed human freedom, and persecuted the church. Thus careful social analysis is an important instrument in distinguishing words and deeds.

In some cases the contradiction between rhetoric and reality is obvious and needs little analysis. At other times, however, it is more subtle, and we may even deceive ourselves. In such cases, social analysis becomes a process of wrestling with the biases of our own consciousness, of critiquing our deepest assumptions, and of seeing what new horizons open for us. In such wrestling, we need to relativize our ideologies, to gain some distance on the boundaries of our experience, and to come at the world afresh.

II. SOCIAL ANALYSIS—Its Difficulty

Perpetual conversion is necessary because the task of social analysis itself is so difficult. The society we are trying to analyze is a bundle of complexity, change, and controversy.

First, it is complex because we have moved a long way from the simple and plain living of early agricultural societies. Our social system is now a bewildering maze of people, networks, machines, and offices. This complexity is readily admitted by most of us. In fact, we sometimes throw our hands up in the air. It all seems so complicated that we are tempted to do nothing about our problems. We can feel powerless and become fatalistic.

More often, however, we do try to do something about society's problems, but approach them in piecemeal fashion. Trying to help one cause, we sometimes hurt another. Who then should we help? Or should we totally stop trying and let events run their course?

People link capitalism's economic life with the free market.



Increasingly, all our social problems, from the neighborhood right up to the United Nations, are interwoven, or, as we now say, interdependent. The oil-exporting nations raise their prices, and suddenly the U.S. is increasing its foreign food sales to help pay the bill (forcing up the cost of food at home) and urging energy conservation on all of us. A change in distant countries thousands of miles away has its direct impact at the local grocery store and gas station. How to make sense of all this interwoven complexity? How to find some creative strategies and coalitions which will bring a richer quality of life to all people everywhere, instead of having one group pitted against another? These are the questions which press us into social analysis, despite the complexity. Otherwise, we must consign ourselves to a bleak fatalism, or an amateurish tinkering, which could prove counterproductive.

Second, social analysis is difficult because our society is constantly changing. Yesterday's analysis may not be valid today. Tomorrow's changes can undercut today's assumptions. The particular social analytic resources we choose to help us interpret the new situation will shape the remedy we seek, and consequently determine whether we shall embark on a creative, ineffective, or destructive social path.

Third, social analysis is difficult because society is so controversial. However we analyze the situation, we must choose an analysis linked with some ideological tradition, for even the claim to have no ideology is itself an ideology. We must locate ourselves within some vision of society, which may be any one of a number of interpretations of capitalism, socialism, feudalism, tribalism, or some as yet unthought of system. This in turn links our analysis with various social or political movements, many of them antagonistic to each other, within the society.

For these three reasons, then, analysis is a difficult task—it is complex, never finished, and always controversial. Given these difficulties, we might then ask why bother, or why is it really important? This is an instinctive question from our vigorous heritage of pragmatism.

III. A NEW SITUATION?

Our American pragmatic instincts make us skeptical of laborious social analysis and press us to get on with the action. It is our traditional genius to be do-ers, problem-solvers, activists. Generally this gift has made rich contributions to our history, but there is some reason to believe we may be entering a fundamentally new era in U.S. history. And in this era, pragmatic genius may need to be supplemented by more thorough-going social analysis.

A. Opportunities and Limits

We enter a new structural era. Prior to the 1970s, the U.S. was the land of spontaneously expanding social opportunities. The pie of social opportunity kept growing and growing. Now the U.S. could become a land of contracting social opportunities. The predominate cultural theme underlying expansion in the past era of our history was the "frontier." The new theme pressing on our consciousness in this new era is "limits."

While the analysis of this new era varies with different political groups, its fact is widely accepted. Those leaning toward the political Right have stressed a "new realism," suggesting that we were coming into an age of austerity, rather than an age of bounty. The theme has been developed by many in the so-called "neo-conservative" movement, which has influenced some popular Catholic writers, to attack what they call the "moralisms" of social liberals who do not understand the new structural constraints of our social system in the present situation.

A more compassionate expression of coming to terms with limits appears in the political Center. Voices here are frank about the limits of the new situation—the need to conserve energy, to get along with less, to lower our expectations—but they are less harsh than the neo-conservatives.

Yet, a third group is beginning to form on the political Left. This group suggests that the coming of limits to U.S. history will aggravate social conflict within the nation, for, they claim, the structures of capitalism compel the burdens of society to be shared unjustly.

Of course, the coming of limits to the U.S. experience need not mean the end of opportunity. It certainly means that our past assumptions of expansion within open and growing frontiers of every kind will no longer be workable. Yet new and qualitatively distinct opportunities can be discovered within the limits, but for this we will need to deepen our social analysis, stimulate our creativity, and broaden our common vision or social consensus. The real "new frontier" then is social imagination and creativity within the constraints of limits. But this task is very difficult for consensus is

breaking down all across the society. This, in turn, raises a special challenge for social analysis and constitutes perhaps the main reason why it is so important at this point.

B. Fragmentation or Solidarity?

As limits close in upon us, without any renewed common vision, the tendency will no doubt be for social in-fighting to increase over scarce resources (income, jobs, goods, etc.). This in-fighting can take two forms—either fragmentation or solidarity.

If the former predominates, it will mean that the social system will be analyzed only in terms of its parts, and not in terms of the whole—or in other words, in terms of short-range, immediate, piece-meal gains by some, rather than in terms of long-range, permanent, holistic gains by all. Such fragmentation could aggravate our social disintegration and yield a negative sum game.

Unfortunately our heritage of social pragmatism—without linking itself with deeper social analysis—leaves us ill-equipped for the long-range, holistic perspective. For if we can focus only on the pieces—our piece of the pie or anybody else's—and fail to see the big picture, we are unable to produce a magnanimous strategy and coalition. We are also easily confused or manipulated. Thus, it could be that if short-range pragmatism alone predominates, the tensions among different racial and ethnic groupings will grow, as well as those between men and women. In addition, stress among competing interest groups in the nation, among competing regional economies within the nation, as well as tensions between domestic and international needs will increase. Thus, those many people and groups who are being hurt by the new stage of the system could find themselves pitted against each other to the long-range detriment of all.

On the other hand, if solidarity is to predominate, then a deeper level of analysis must emerge than we presently have available. This will require that we press beyond pragmatism—without abandoning the pragmatic genius—but this time including it within the framework of a broader structural and systemic analysis of our common social struggle and the mutual linkages of all issues and causes. To achieve this solidarity will require that we construct a vast grid for cooperative grassroots social analysis.

C. A Grid for the Future: Building Solidarity

While no such analytical grid is yet available to us, we might quickly review some elements which should be basic in it. Some of these have already been mentioned but are worth repeating. In an environment of mutual learning such a grid should link the following:

1. issues, structures, and system;
2. personal, inter-personal, and supra-personal;
3. local, regional, national, and international;
4. economics, politics, and culture;
5. The pluralism of race, ethnicity, sex-role, class, region, and nations;
6. objective institutions and subjective consciousness;
7. theology, human science, and experience;
8. the rational and the poetic.

The creation of such a resource grid, linking all of the above, could be deeply important for the church's creative task of ministering to today's society. It could also prove a key instrument in enlarging the social consensus of this country around a common, holistic, and human vision—at a time when the nation is threatened with paralyzing and manipulative fragmentation.

Having dealt with our first two questions ("What is social analysis?" and "Why is social analysis important?"), we can proceed to the second two: Did the Liberty and Justice for All process have social analysis? and What was it?

PART TWO

In asking the question of the social analysis of Liberty and Justice for All, we ask something complex, for the process included parish consultations, national Hearings, the contributions of writing teams, and the work of the conference delegates. In reviewing this complex process, we will examine something of the analysis present at each stage. This will then suggest to us a future task for the process.

Briefly, the thesis here is that the parish consultations focused on issue analysis, while the Hearings, documents, and the conference itself added the dimension of structural policy, but not in a thoroughly systemic fashion. A task for the future, therefore, within the developing grid of solidarity, is to unveil the systemic unity underlying the multiple issues and the fragmented policy recommendations of Detroit.

I. PARISH CONSULTATIONS

Clearly it is impossible to review every analytical aspect of the consultation process. Nonetheless, some conjecture about the clustering of issue priorities may be legitimate. To do this, at least two separate approaches seem worth some discussion.

A. Perceptions and Empowerment

The first approach is simply to rank in comparative fashion the separate scorings of 1) perceived issues; 2) recommended actions; and 3) total respondents from the parish consultations. Such a comparison is laid out in Table I.

tirely celibate religious professional class in the Catholic church.

The third cluster includes Personhood, Work, and Ethnicity/Race. That Personhood ranks rather low perhaps testifies that this concept (as opposed to the content of the concept) is not widely used outside the

TABLE I

COMPARISON OF TOPICS IN PARISH CONSULTATIONS

Score in 1000s	Issues	Actions	Respondents
200		Church (352.8) (off the chart)	
190			
180			Church (177.1)
170	Church (166.9)	Personhood (161.8)	
160		Neighborhood (153.8)	
150	Nationhood (150.6)	Family (144.0)	
140		Nationhood (142.0)	
130			
120			Nationhood (120.7) Family (120.5) Personhood (115.8)
110			
100	Family (104.3)		
90	Humankind (90.2)		
80	Neighborhood (88.6)	Work (84.5) Humankind (80.6) Ethnicity/Race (76.5)	Neighborhood (81.7) Humankind (80.8)
70			
60	Personhood (60.7)		Ethnicity/Race (66.9) Work (66.5)
50			
40	Work (44.8) Ethnicity/Race (41.0)		
30			
20			
10			

In pursuing our analysis, we conjecture that the scores for "issues" give an indication of how pressing the topic is perceived, while the scores under "actions" could indicate how adequate or powerful people feel in dealing with the issues. The list of total "respondents" (the most generally quoted figure from the data) does not give us the same differentiation of information, since it does not discriminate between actions and issues.

Two reservations are in order before we approach the data. First, the consultations were apparently not conducted in many of the major urban industrial areas of the country. The metropolitan areas of Philadelphia; Washington, D. C.; New York; Chicago; and Boston did not hold parish soundings. Who knows how or if the data would have shifted with such input? Second, this exploration and the following one are highly impressionistic interpretations. For anything more, a great deal of serious scientific analysis would be required—something not presently available.

Looking at the issues column in Table I, we can perceive three rough clusters of priorities. The highest problem area in score ranking goes to Church and Nationhood, the two macro-structures which directly shape our lives. Perhaps this reflects the perception that Catholicism in the post-Vatican II period is in some form of crisis, and that the U. S., moving beyond the post-World War II era, is also at a critical juncture.

The second cluster includes, (in this order) Family, Humankind, and Neighborhood. That Humankind and Neighborhood register in this middle range is perhaps a testimony to the important work done by two separate components of contemporary Catholic social thought/action, namely the community organizing thrust (focusing on the local neighborhood) and the justice and peace thrust (focusing on international structures). That Family also scores in this middle range undoubtedly testifies to the problems felt by Catholic families across the country, problems not generally articulated or reflected upon with seriousness by the almost en-

professional middle class. That Work ranks low is curious, since work occupies a major portion of the waking hours of the day of most adults in our society. (Clearly there would seem to be need for more research and reflection on why this category received so little attention.) Finally, Ethnicity/Race ranks at the bottom of issue priorities, a surprising and perhaps disturbing fact in light of the great grappling with these themes that has occurred in our society over the last decade or two.

When we switch to the action column—presumably indicating the respondents' sense of adequacy or power before the issue—ratings change. Again, however, there are three breakdowns.

The first cluster—actions directed toward Church—numerically, skyrockets and breaks rank with all the other data. This is understandable, since it is the church itself which is asking for advice on its own role in society. Still, the high score is a tribute to ordinary Catholics' willingness to contribute suggestions to the church's planning process. This points to the very opposite of a passive laity.

The second cluster includes Personhood, Neighborhood, Family, and Nationhood. Here Nationhood holds roughly the same position as under issues, while Family and Neighborhood rise to approximately the level of the highest category under issues. This could mean that people have a high sense of power in these two areas (Family and Neighborhood), even higher than their perception of problems here. Oddly, Personhood makes a quantum jump upward, suggesting perhaps that while people are reticent to call attention to it (or their own person as a problem), they still have a great sense of power in this area.

The third and lowest cluster of action suggestions includes Work, Humankind, and Ethnicity/Race. Nonetheless, both Work and Ethnicity/Race register higher with actions than they did with issues, suggesting some moderate adequacy or power in this area. Humankind, however, takes a modest dip (as did Nationhood above) suggesting that peoples' perception of the issue is

higher than their adequacy to deal with it.

B. Priorities for Action

A second exercise in approaching the data may give us some further indication of the consciousness of the parishioners polled in the consultations. This would be to rank serially those specific action recommendations which received more than 10,000 scores in the sounding process. This is done in Table II, which lists 33 recommendations.

While we could categorize the items on this list in any number of overlapping ways, several strike the reader immediately. The concern with family is high. So also the need to explore women's role. Likewise the sense of outwardness, or social concern for the poor, the aging, youth, orphans, widows, the alienated, and global justice. Finally, as is inevitable, the church figures strongly, although very little in the top 15 items. The world comes first; the church second. One could make the conclusion therefore, that the parishioners represented here are family-centered people, quite willing to explore women's role, high in social concern, and supporting an outward-oriented church which does not put itself first.

Still, for whatever this tells us about the parishioners polled, it gives us little information on structural or systemic analysis. We have some sense of where the pressure points are, but we don't know why they are sensitive areas, nor what to do about it.

II. THE HEARINGS, THE WRITERS, THE DELEGATES

These three further stages can be taken together at this point of our reflection, partly for the sake of brevity, but partly because they seem more homogenous.

Throughout these three further stages of the process, the analytic content develops to include structures

TABLE II

ACTIONS SCORING OVER 10,000 IN PARISH CONSULTATIONS

Action	Rounded Score
1. opportunities for families	44,000
2. religious education for adults	33,200
3. assist aging	33,200
4. share resources with poor	29,300
5. aid youth	27,200
6. improve self image and respect	21,000
7. church leaders influence political life	20,900
8. promote community	20,500
9. service for poor	19,700
10. effective communication of church teaching	19,000
11. understand better roles of men and women	18,600
12. dialogue: bishops, priests, people	18,400
13. share resources with poor	17,600
14. help parent/children communications	17,100
15. equal opportunity for women	16,300
16. expand women's role in church	16,000
17. better homilies	15,700
18. lay participation in politics	14,400
19. commitment to neighborhood	13,800
20. family life education/organization	13,300
21. orphans, widows, alienated	13,000
22. media and values	12,900
23. educate to global justice	12,800
24. lay role in decisions	11,900
25. diversity of races and ethnicities	11,400
26. family counselling	11,000
27. family unity by home masses	11,000
28. bishops direct clergy to speak on issues	10,700
29. multicultural programs	10,500
30. individual responsibility	10,500
31. diocesan and parish autonomy	10,400
32. bishops lead-in church teaching	10,300
33. optional celibacy	10,300



Structures that militate against the human spirit.

(and policy) as well as issues. Undoubtedly, this reflects the significant role played here by people with middle-range policy responsibility in the church and social institutions. While many testimonies simply call attention to the fact of painful issues and make moral appeals to conversion or for "someone to do something," the more sophisticated "middle management" voices of the church are better targeted institutionally. Consistently they call for creation, enlargement, or support of an office, commission, or committee entrusted with their particular concern. Such structures, they insist, over and over again, are to be centered in a national body with regional and local echoes at lower institutional levels.

Most of the structural recommendations are focused on the church, again understandably in a church process. Still this is interesting from a theological perspective, for it implicitly recognizes that the church itself is very much a human social structure, in addition to being a peculiarly transcendent community. The church's own call to action, therefore, while a call to personal moral conversion, is simultaneously a call to structural creativity.

Clearly the structures called for at every point by the process have two fundamental characteristics, which in fact are the basic notes of Liberty and Justice for All itself. The first is the call for "shared responsibility"—in no case rejecting leadership (quite the contrary)—in which the rich energies of the whole community can be released. The second is the call for a sense of "process"—the assumption that reality is dynamic. These two calls would seem to assume a social model in which "planning" (and planners) play a significant role, but only as the servants of popular experience.

III. LIMITS AND HOLISTIC THINKING

In a dynamic process of shared responsibility, however, the church faces the same problematic as the wider secular society, namely the fact of limits. At a time when personnel and resources seem to be contracting, the church is pressured from every side by every interest group to commit its resources to countless particular causes. While up to a certain point the institution can make modest structural responses to each of these pressures, the problem eventually becomes critical. As budgets and personnel become tighter, the competition over scarce resources tends to create a competitive fragmentation within the institution, thus under-

mining consensus.

The attempt to check such fragmentation and build creative solidarity becomes, as already mentioned, of great importance in the institution. But such an attempt requires, it would seem, a more holistic perspective than the simply multiple structural approaches (with focus on isolated policy components); it would seem to require, as well, moving toward a thoroughgoing systemic perspective.

But if, instead, such pressures of competitive fragmentation grow, the system (religious or secular) can take either of two lines of response. First, it can take a reactionary path, in which the top management puts systemic security above the needs of its various constituencies, and reorganizes itself in totalitarian fashion. Something like this is going on in the secular arena in much of Latin America today under the rubric of the national security state. Something similar apparently went on in religious terms in late post-Trentine Catholicism.

Second, as an alternative, it would be possible for the competing groups to discover the mutuality and interpenetration of their causes (at least the non-reactionary factions), and to build out of their joint struggle a grid of solidarity. This in turn would open upon holistic (as opposed to totalitarian) restructuring of the fundamental system.

An imaginative example of such systemic restructuring would be, rather than fighting over the limited number of professionally trained celibate ministers (male or female), to discover instead and to deepen in the existing charismas of all grassroots communities the wealth of gifts for ministry already present. The African church, for example, would seem to be pursuing that course with its vigorous program of lay catechists—undoubtedly the pastors of tomorrow for the local church.

A second example in the realm of financial resources would be, rather than fighting over increasingly limited financial resources for costly, heavy, and cumbersome institutions, to experiment with lighter, less expensive, and more flexible institutions. Such a thrust can be seen perhaps in the shift from the old model of parish "plant" (school, church, rectory, convent) to more integrated forms of team ministry, focused primarily on adults, using ecumenical centers, and building its strength around the linking of small prayer communities. In this case the original ministry goals are carried out in new forms.

IV. SEEDS OF SYSTEMIC THINKING

There were some seeds of systemic thinking in the Detroit process, although not widespread nor deep-rooted. Where they did appear, they mostly addressed the economic system.

This consciousness of system was most developed in the Humankind document—understandably so since the global perspective of its nature requires an analysis of the interaction of national systems. Appealing to the 1971 Synod of Bishops' document, *Justice in the World*, the document's preamble questions, "... uncritical acceptance of the social, economic and political system in which we participate." (Hkd, Preamble) Recommendation I recalls Pope Paul's challenge in *Call to Action* to take seriously the "rebirth of utopias" and to "... search for a vision of a more just and peaceful work beyond present forms of either capitalism or socialism." (Hkd I, Intro) Finally, it calls for justice and peace research on "global justice, including the relation of the Catholic tradition to other (systemic) traditions including the socialist and the Gandhian..." (Hkd I, 7)

Seeds of systemic thinking appear again in at least three other documents, namely Nationhood, Neighborhood, and Work. Nationhood's recommendation III, 2 thus urges,

That we unite with the papal and episcopal teaching in calling for a prayerful critical analysis and a transformation of structures causing injustice. Recognizing that many of the basic values of our present economic system appear to be directly in conflict with gospel values, we recommend that the teaching church draw the attention of Catholic community to the causal relationships between this economic system and social ills. We further recommend that the church explore alternative and innovative economic structures that will distribute power more equitably.

In Neighborhood, Recommendation III, 3a calls for analysis of the larger social issues affecting many communities and moves toward the systemic perspective in terms of interrelationships and interdependence, suggesting a bottom-up approach toward systemic analysis. "All such issues should be addressed in terms of the interrelationships between city, county, state and federal governments and the interdependence of rural, urban, and suburban communities."

Finally, the Work document addresses system twice. First, it assigns to its proposed commission on economic justice the special task of "... study and evaluation of the economic system with due attention to the effect that racism has on the distribution of goods and services." (Wk II, 1) Second, in calling for worker-management experimentation, it notes "... the complexity of the institutions and professions which constitute contemporary economic systems." (Wk III, 4)

Such references, however, were only occasional and not integrated with the high concern over issues and structural policy. Least developed of all was the international/national linkage, which is so dramatically reshaping the systemic life of our nation in the areas treated by every document of the conference. Many of the tensions we presently feel in our domestic social system are a direct result of contemporary restructuring in the international economic system (e.g., the energy crisis). If our response to these internationally-generated tensions is to be creative, we need a great deal of sophistication about the international systemic context within which these problems are being generated.

V. FUTURE TASK

Deepening, therefore, the systemic insights which are sprinkled throughout the Liberty and Justice for All

documents seems a major task in the future of the process. This is especially so in light of the major role given to planning by the recommendations from the Detroit conference.

Consistently the recommendations call for research and planning in every aspect of the church's pastoral ministry. If there is one thing which is common to every document, it is precisely this call for a "planned" church—the call to enlarge the intelligence apparatus of the institution and to equip it for creative grappling with the multiple problems of our complex and dynamic society. Of course, such a planning thrust must be linked at the grassroots level to both input and accountability, so that somehow ordinary Catholics can set the agenda and do the final evaluating. Certainly Liberty and Justice for All was not calling for a church run by ecclesiastical technocrats.

But if the contribution of planning is to be creative and not competitive, it needs increasingly to become holistic planning—a planning which understands well all the linkages and the underlying systemic unity both of the church's own operational life and that of the wider society in which it lives. The development of holistic planning, however, requires systemic analysis to a much deeper degree than any of us have available at present. The development of such a framework, in conjunction with the analytical grid of solidarity already mentioned, would seem one of the most important tasks before us.

In conclusion, if today's reading of the "signs of the times" by the Church Universal is truly rooted in the presence of the Spirit, and indeed that seems the case, then the U. S. church needs to take very seriously the magisterium's message that we are being called to the creation of a new social order. Certainly this call is a challenge worthy of the U. S. church in its third century. Certainly, too, it is a challenge which will build upon the struggle and strength of our first two hundred years.

Theology: The Church of Detroit

I. INTRODUCTION

The Writing Committee on Church passed to the Detroit delegates their interpretation of the kind of church they saw emerging from the voices of the people in the parishes, diocesan consultations, and the national hearings. This interpretation is revealed in their summary and reflection on the material received. It is also embodied in the kind of recommendations they wrote reflecting priorities for the church suggested by all the pre-Detroit consultations.

A principle already stated above again holds valid here: what passed from the Writing Committee into Detroit is substantially what came out of Detroit. The Detroit delegates liked the kind of church they discovered in the Working Paper on Church. They liked the proposed recommendations.

But how the delegates understood their church is found not only in their document Church but also in the other seven documents on Family, Ethnicity/Race, Neighborhood, Nationhood, Personhood, Work, Humankind. All of these must be mined for their riches. From them all a new profile of church emerges. It is a profile of what the church will be more widely perhaps in a not-too-distant future. What the Working Paper on Church had said about the pre-Detroit consultations is equally true of what happened at Detroit, "in one sense the entire consultation was about Church."

A. The Language

There is an image language which defines the Detroit profile of church. The delegates are familiar with the Vatican II method of discovering God's presence and will by a reading of the "signs of the times." They constantly refer to themselves and the rest of the U. S. church as people of God; as faith community; as covenant people.

This covenant people is missioned. They are missioned to serve the kingdom. That mission will embrace service of the faith community, but also of the wider community beyond the church, for that too belongs to the kingdom. Theirs is also a call to do justice. Their church is to be a Suffering Servant church in the image of its founder.

Most of this is language of the Second Vatican Council. Equally so are other images evoked at Detroit and scattered throughout its recommendations. The church is Incarnational. It must witness in authenticity. It is called to be an open church. It is a church of shared responsibility, of co-responsibility in which the laity have appropriate (hitherto largely denied) participation. It is a compassionate church, and therefore the delegates were prepared to plead deeper church concern for the abandoned, the needy, the not-yet-counted-in. In a half dozen places a call is made for prophetic witness.

Finally their language discloses them as a people of hope and trust, a point dwelt on at length in the opening section of this reflection.

B. Church Inward/Church Outward

The pre-Detroit parish and diocesan consultations drew 177,000 respondents to the Bicentennial questionnaire on church. These respondents enumerated 156,000 issues to be faced for which they proposed 308,000 actions. Obviously these big figures register total numbers of respondents entering their votes on a select number of issues and actions. But the choice of issues and actions was their own, not suggested by the questionnaire. And the number of both was sizable.

The people in the parishes had proposed actions they wanted taken to improve life within the church and actions that an invigorated church should take toward the community at large. In this again they follow the path of Vatican II with its major decree on the life of the church, *Light of Peoples* (LP) and *Church in the Modern World* (CMW). Detroit's church reaches inward first to the community of the faithful, second, to the institution, and third, to the mission call and its appropriate response. In the same measure it reaches outward to respond to the needs of neighborhood, underprivileged classes of persons, ethnic and racial groups, working people and unemployed, the whole nation, and the world beyond.

Still another preliminary observation may help. Those assembled at Detroit looked at church and while touching on doctrine, more implicitly than explicitly, they were mainly concerned with pastoral practice. They affirmed a certain set of values embodied in the life and action of the faithful. Toward assuring these, they proposed structural reforms at parish, diocesan, and national church levels, and a revitalized educational effort at all three levels.

That value system embraces all the image language mentioned above, of community, of a loving, compassionate, serving church. It embraces the rich values expressed in the resolutions on Personhood, Family, Ethnicity/Race, etc. It includes values of national and world solidarity, of stewardship, of sharing with all peoples. Structural reforms are to be initiated to support action in favor of all these values through better coordination and use of church resources. The over-arching concern for a revitalized educational effort (a separate chapter will be devoted to this) is taken up in the resolutions of at least five sections.

II. MODELS OF THE CHURCH

There are several models of the church discernible in the Detroit documents. These are:

A. The Church as Community

B. The Church as Institution

C. The Church as Servant

D. The Church as Sign

All of these must now be looked at. To the church as community we will join two further components emerging from the Detroit conference. The first is the mission mandate of this community; the second is its task of discerning God's presence and will in its reading of the "signs of the times."

A. The Church as Community

Almost the first words of the Detroit recommendations on Church are "The church, as a community organized under the gospel..." The call is made to "become an authentic community..." Several times actions are called for from "the People of God." Parishes should be communities of faith. (Ch III, 1) The Personhood document opens with "community is essential to Christian life." Therefore, it calls on the bishops to "give priority to the development of community especially at the parish level." (Pers I, 1)

1. Persons Held Sacred

The recommendations on Personhood use this language, "... each person [is to be accepted] as the Lord's gift to community." (Pers I, 3) One could write a sociological treatise on this relationship between community and person. Those philosophies that emphasize person over community and community over person are well known. In the document on Church each of the two has its proper place. Persons are gifts to community, and hence "each Christian community should call forth the gifts of the individual for the service of all..." (Ibid.)

But by the same token the Christian community serves the person. The same passage continues, "... all Catholics foster an awareness of, and create an environment in which each person can recognize his or her vocation..." (Pers I, 2) and each can be "equal." This reverence for the person is built on a theological principle. The church advocates the principle of the basic goodness and inviolability of the human person made in the image and likeness of God. From person, the statement on Personhood turns to interpersonal relations, human and divine, our greatest resource. (Pers II, Intro)

Discrimination against certain persons on the basis of sex is condemned in Personhood. In Church, the same subject occupies one-third of the space. In the recommendations under Personhood, the Detroit delegates were as critical of church practice as they ever became in any of the documents. Eight sub-recommendations list unfair church practices or church failures to do more. These include respect for women, the elderly, youth, and ethnic and racial groups. (Pers II, 1-8)

2. Missioned and Mandated

The Church document states the call and responsibility of all people of God to minister in the church. In Humankind it is the call "to prophetic witness of Christ through effective action on behalf of justice," quoting *Justice in the World* of the 1971 Synod of Bishops. It is a "mandate toward justice."

The document on the Church stresses the mandate and mission of the whole people of God to reach out to all men and women wherever they may be, in their various cultural and socio-economic contexts, in their aspirations, in the ambiguities of their lives. It is a mandate to help them discover transcendence in their milieu, discover God pulling them forward to his future. It is a mandate and mission to disclose the presence of Jesus, Liberator and Savior. In the words of Paul VI's Apostolic Letter *Call to Action*, "to disclose the mystery of man discovering himself to be God's Son."

Vatican Council II had already stated this mandate and mission. "For God's Word, by whom all things were made, was Himself made Flesh so that as perfect man He might save all men and sum up all things in Himself. The Lord is the goal of human history, focal point of the longings of history and civilization, center of the human race, joy of every heart and answer to all its longings." (CMW)

Man/woman was created to be in and of this world. Engagement in this world is a constitutive dimension of human existence. Men and women were created in time and space. The world is their stage. They have no other. It is the fundamental horizon of their reflective life, even in its transcendental dimension. It is there that thought begins. Without that world we should have no art. To that world and cosmos we are inseparably joined, spirits linked through bodies into an organum of space and time which is neither alien nor hostile territory but our natural ambience. Our link is, even as Jesus is so linked, now and forever through our body and its extension into time and space.

The world is our stage and we cannot leave it to play out our life roles elsewhere. Still more, as creation is the continuous work of God, so is the making of a better world our ongoing task as co-creators. We are never-endingly responsible for our part in creation. We must be engaged in our world as God was and is, revealing himself in the events that make up the succeeding epochs of human history.

3. Reading the "Signs of the Times"

As a faith community the delegates to Detroit understood that their mandate to serve the church and to serve humankind called them to discern God's will. To what is he in this moment calling the U.S. church? Where to discover this call? The synod of bishops in their 1971 search for justice came up against the same problem. They state their solution as a method of work in the opening paragraphs of their enormously influential *Justice in the World* document.

"Scrutinizing the 'Signs of the Times' and seeking to detect the meaning of emerging history, while at the same time sharing the aspirations and questionings of all those who want to build a more human world, we have listened to the Word of God that we might be converted to the fulfilling of the divine plan. . . ."

Not different was the method of the Bicentennial program from its inauguration all the way through De-

troit. The people of God, under the leadership of their bishops, were seeking to read the "signs of the times" as they appeared to them in contemporary U.S. Some of those signs they discovered in the aspirations of men and women; some in the events of our emerging history; some in the kind of questions men and women are asking.

A number of the signs studied by Pope John and the Vatican Council were very much in evidence at Detroit. In convoking the Council, John had drawn special attention to the following: the near universal demand for freedom; the demand of all for authenticity in the church and in society; all peoples' desire to take their rightful place in the world's councils; women's movement toward greater equality.

Pope Paul has further developed this theology of reading the "signs of the times" both in his *Call to Action* and his recent exhortation *On Evangelization in the Modern World*. This theology tells us that the aspirations of women and men and the events they live can be carriers of God's revelation and actively guide history. The phenomenon of spreading human aspirations can be an indication of God's continuing revelation. Revelation not in the sense of something newly given, but rather the fullness of understanding achieved only over time, and not achieved easily. Here is where we need God's revealing light.

For example, elsewhere we reflect on the efforts of women to achieve a breakthrough in the public's understanding of their role and rights as persons. Can we not see in this event, as it gathers momentum more widely, a sign telling us where a proper understanding of the human must ultimately guide all in the church? Such signs then are a presence of God and reveal to us what God put into humankind in his very action of creating men and women in his own image and likeness.

The "event-sign" may reveal a moment of grace, a time of God. For example, the destruction of the cities of the people of Israel was a divine manifestation and presence calling them back from the self-destruction of their idolatry. The U.S. bishops chose to find in the event of our nation's Bicentennial celebration just such a moment of God's call to his people; to proclaim anew their nation's goal of justice and liberty for all; to seize the moment for deliberate, honest, candid reflection. The bishops were convinced that U.S. Catholics would be bearers of the authentic word of God.

The thirty recommendations of Detroit with their total of some 251 distinct sub-recommendations record how well the delegates succeeded in their task of reading the "signs of the times." Was there too much of the human in their effort? Did they inadequately seek the light of the Holy Spirit in their discernment? The answer will be given differently by different people.

As has been true of several great councils in the history of the church so too of this lesser event. It may take time before general ratification of the Call to Action documents is achieved. It is worth recording in this connection that even Vatican Council II has had and continues to have its active opponents.

B. Church as Institution

Some critics have portrayed the Detroit conference as being in opposition to the institutional church. This is far from the truth. It is plain calumny.

1. Leadership and Teaching Authority

Whatever their differences, the people at Detroit

gave every evidence of recognizing the leadership role of those who identify most essentially with the institution, the bishops. Indeed, what many bishops may come to resist is that, because delegates recognized the role of the bishops as spiritual leaders, they imposed on them virtually impossible tasks.

What must be remembered is that out of some 251 individual recommendations, only about 68 are addressed to the bishops. On the whole these are requests that they exercise their leadership over the church. For example, the resolutions on Work request the bishops to write yet another pastoral letter on equal opportunity and affirmative action for all groups. (Wk I, 3) The same document asks the bishops to direct all institutions having investments in multinational corporations to investigate the use of their funds. (Wk I, 4) The document on Ethnicity/Race wants the bishops to set up bureaus to ensure justice for the Hispanic, the black, and the Native American. (E/R IV)

The teaching authority of the bishops also receives strong support. The Nationhood document invites all to "unite with the papal and episcopal teaching." (Nat III, 2) The Working Paper on Work asks that "the social doctrine of Popes John XXIII, Paul VI, Vatican II, the U.S. bishops and the social teachings of the church . . . be taught, respected, and implemented. . . ." (Wk III, 1)

If the teaching authority of the Pope and the bishops gets strong support, it has to be recognized that the delegates believed that the rest of the church also has a role in discovering God's will in the development of dogma.

Without wanting confrontation with the hierarchy—and there is precious little evidence of such in the Detroit proceedings and resolutions—those delegates not bishops believed that co-responsibility is not merely a matter of execution of orders, but also a matter of development of understanding, formulation of policy, and finally of decision making.

2. Sensus Fidelium

It has always been a curiosity for theologians that when it suits the *magisterium* to do so, it readily invokes the "sensus fidelium"—"understanding of the faithful." That certainly was the case in the two most recent fully dogmatic utterances of Rome—the Immaculate Conception and the Assumption. The Proclamation Bulls of both reveal how much the church, in coming to proclaim them dogmas, rested its position on what is technically called "sensus fidelium." The theological significance is that God's Holy Spirit is with the people as they pray and as they exercise their belief. If the people of God massively endorse these two attributes for the Mother of God, it can only be because God is revealing his truth through the believing community, even as he revealed it seminally in the Scriptures.

This brings us to one key passage in *Personhood*. For there, while the Detroit Assembly strongly endorsed the hierarchy's stand against abortion (Pers II, 2) they were unprepared to ratify the bishops' official stand of unqualified support for *Humanae Vitae*. Here is what they said:

"That the church in the United States acknowledge that it is living in a state of conflict and anguish arising from tension between the common understanding of church teaching and the current practice of many Catholics, and that this state of conflict produces intense pastoral and human problems which, in justice, the church

The church as a community called to discern the "signs of the times."



is obliged to face."

Turning specifically to Pope Paul's Encyclical they added:

"The American bishops should use their present pastoral leadership to affirm more clearly the right and responsibility of married people to form their own consciences and to discern what is morally appropriate within the context of their marriage in view of historical teaching including *Humanae Vitae*, and contemporary theological reflection, biological and social scientific research; and those factors influencing the spiritual and emotional quality of their marital and family lives." (Pers III, 2)

This formula echoes the treatment of the question in Vatican II's decree on the *Church in the Modern World*. There the right and responsibility to form one's conscience, taking into account the development of theological reflection in the light of biological understanding, is affirmed. This was of course the position of the overwhelming majority of the two committees—one of professional theologians, the other of bishops—which Pope Paul VI set up to study the question in preparation for the pronouncement which he had decided upon and which became *Humanae Vitae*.

Many U.S. Catholics find it anomalous, to say the least, that the body of the faithful hold the seed of God's truth on the Immaculate Conception and Assumption but not on the use of marriage. If their believing is to be trusted on the life of Our Lady, why not, they ask, on something even more intimate to them, the moral use of marriage? If the Spirit is present in their belief about the Mother of God, is he to be thought absent in the unfolding of their married life?

Detroit made no explicit reference on this score to the pastoral treatment of *Humanae Vitae* by several major hierarchies of the world. But many delegates were aware that the pastoral treatment by some ten national hierarchies in effect have redimensioned the core question of contraception in *Humanae Vitae*. If the language was that of pastoral application, the reality—and this did not escape the notice of Rome—was that of local churches respectfully urging some rethinking. After all, even Archbishop Lambruschini admitted in the press conference which delivered the encyclical to the world, *Humanae Vitae* is not irrevocable.

3. Recommendations, Surprising and Controversial

The Detroit Assembly surprised some bishops with still other stands they took in advance of stated episcopal positions. Some of these—accountability, an open church, community, widening of lay ministries—should have surprised no one for they were in the original Working Papers, although not always in the final form the recommendations took at Detroit. Moreover, they are already strongly supported by many bishops.

Other recommendations were certainly more startling. These include admission of the married to priesthood, permission of the already ordained to marry, ordination of women, and admission of divorced and remarried Catholics to the Eucharist under certain conditions.

On these a few bishops argued that the delegates had no right to take up questions or assume positions not found in the recommendations of the Working Papers. Such a position, of course, negates the directives given the delegates by the conference managers. These include instructions on how to reject, amend, and introduce new recommendations.

But were these four recommendations out of line with the recommendations sent forward in the Working Papers? Actually a careful comparison reveals the continuity between the two sets. Where the Detroit recommendations treat persons already married becoming priests and ordained priests being allowed to marry, in separate paragraphs of the Church document (Ch I, 9 and 11), the Working Paper on Church treats them together, asking for immediate attention to "restrictions relative to married clergy. . ."

On ordination of women, the Working Paper on Church calls for "sponsorship by the NCCB, working with the appropriate organizations of scholars, lay and religious women, and in consultation with women who feel called to the priesthood," of "an interpretative study of recent papal and episcopal statements on ordination of women, and on that basis and in the light of the needs of the American Church, clear leadership [on the part of the bishops] . . . by specifying their policies and plans on ordination of women."

The Detroit recommendations adopt that statement with only slight additions. To sources of study is added "the human sciences, experiences of other Christian Churches, of contemporary biblical exegesis, of theological insights." It asks that the process of study be initiated by November 1977. (Ch II, 2)

On admission of remarried persons to the sacraments, the Working Papers on Family asked "pastoral guidelines for reception of the Eucharist." The language of Detroit is the exact equivalent: "to receive under certain conditions the sacraments. . ."

These four recommendations are not matters of doctrine but of church practice, or in the technical word, church discipline. They are a matter of present practice, just as receiving communion by mouth, a practice the

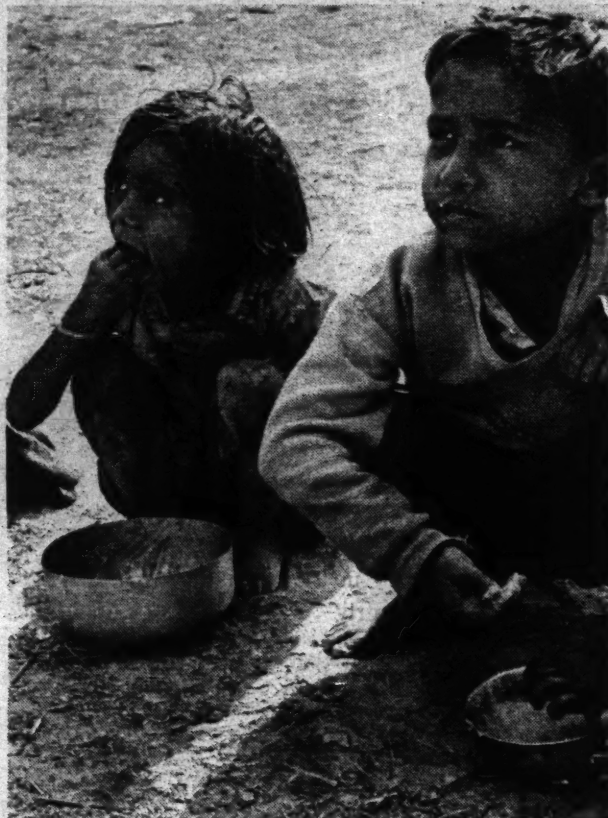
delegates want changed in conformity with church practice followed widely throughout the world. (Pers I, 6) That the married are not admitted to the priesthood, that priests cannot marry, that women cannot be ordained, all these are open to change in church practice.

Some will argue that there are theological reasons for opposing the ordination of women. To the extent that such arguments as set forth in the recent Declaration, signed by Cardinal Seper of the Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, are truly theological, many will feel that they are just plain bad reasoning with no solid scriptural backing. At any rate, insofar as there may be some doctrinal component in the Detroit position on women's ordination, it is still a case of legitimate pluralism.

The language in urging reconsideration of these four points is respectful. No commands are delivered, no either/or's. The delegates simply took aspirations and needs of people seriously, as events that show new possibilities of where God's Spirit guides the search for legitimate response. These findings were affirmed in their recommendations.

Some at Detroit were aghast to hear mentioned, and then approved by large majorities, rights for homosexuals (Pers III, 4) and people of "different sexual orientation." (Wk I, Intro) What such critics missed is that the delegates were not being asked to pass moral judgment on such people. They simply wanted recognition to be given to the rights of all people within the church and society.

Finally, there are the very many recommendations on specific social policy. For the most part they could



The Detroit conference had much to say about caring and sharing.

have been taken out of the social encyclicals of Popes John and Paul, the Synod of 1971, and the declarations made by the U.S. bishops in recent times. Two caused particular concern and were highlighted by the press. These were recommendations for amnesty for Vietnam draft evaders and deserters, and radical disarmament. On both issues delegates heard experts offer convincing arguments to show that their positions were in line with Vatican statements.

Thus far we have reviewed certain pastoral directions in which the people at Detroit would like to see their church move. Still another direction urged on the hierarchy was that they initiate theological reflection on the family (Fam I, 2), on work and leisure (Wk IV, 3), and collaborative research on questions of global justice "including the relation of Catholic and other (e.g., socialist, Gandhian) traditions to contemporary situations." (Hkd I, 7)

Liturgy is far from ignored. Services of reconciliation between people and nations are to be encouraged so that the world community can face in prayer the horror of the arms race. (Hkd III, 7) The cultural heritages of our various ethnic groups ought to find place in liturgical services. (E/R II, 6) Neighborhood places alongside parish liturgies "interfaith prayer services" and asks that both, in response to "the cry for community," be celebrations of Christ's dying and rising in our midst and "of community life and neighborliness. . . ." (Ngh I, 1)

4. A Church Constantly to be Reformed

There was a day when bishops together with the rest of the people in the church thought that any criticism of "Mother Church" was disloyalty. The bishops of the world took a definitive stand on this when they issued their 1971 statement on *Justice in the World*. "While the church is bound to give witness to justice," they wrote, "she recognizes that anyone who ventures to speak to people about justice must first be just in their eyes." Accordingly, the bishops proceeded to "an

examination of the modes of acting and of the possessions and life style to be found within the church herself." The 1974 Synod reiterated this stand, "... her [the church] ministry of fostering human rights . . . requires continued scrutiny and purification of her own life and practice."

The Detroit document on Ethnicity/Race opens by saying that response of the church community to its own teaching on ethnic and racial equality is "a mockery." (E/R I, Intro) Almost every one of the eight documents has comparable language.

What are some of the specifics? At the head of the list is accountability. Church authorities "must hold themselves accountable to the people of God for their financial policies and practices, including investments and ownership and alienation of church property." (Ch I, 1)

Next is the call for establishment of diocesan and parish councils which would share responsibility for the community's disposition of its human and material resources in keeping with the Gospel and needs of all, especially the poor. (Ibid.)

Due process is called for. A national board should be established. It should address itself "aggressively" to due process by initiating procedures of appeal, redress, and reconciliation. (Ibid., 2, a) The delegates were clearly upset by the variations in pastoral practice in different parts of the country. They are against "the so-called 'geographical morality' which allows petitions for matrimonial nullity to be granted in one place and not in another," as well as the failure "to implement current jurisprudence in all diocesan tribunals throughout the nation." (Ibid., 2, b)

Finally, a Bill of Rights was proposed at Detroit. (Pers IV) The purpose assigned to it is to assist the U.S. church to more fully pursue its mission of defending human rights and rights accruing from baptism, of building a community of shared life in faith. The Bill lists many rights not yet included in the U.S. Constitution, i.e., the right to minimum food, clothing, shelter, health care, and economic opportunity. The Bill includes also the right "to participate in accord with each person's gift of the Spirit in the life and ministry of the Christian community on a non-discriminatory basis." Lastly the delegates ask for procedural rights for vindicating these rights and adjudicating disputes over them.

C. Church as Servant

The language of all eight documents attests that the church as servant is, together with church as community, the foremost model of the Detroit Assembly. Often these two models are specifically linked. For example, the Neighborhood document wants the church to be "... a caring community . . ." and a "neighborhood servant." (Ngh I, 4; II Intro)

In Nationhood there is call for widespread service. It calls for "the leadership of our bishops on the various issues of human life and rights, such as world hunger, and world peace, housing, economic justice, racism and the aged." (Nat II, Intro) In the document Church the delegates asked that all members of the church "be empowered for service." (Ch II, Intro) That introductory paragraph is subsequently extended into numerous specific proposals in areas of public service that ought to be the concern of the Catholic community. (Ch II, 1-15)

Surprisingly, even the document on Family devoted one-third of its recommendations to service that the family gives to society. (Fam II, 1-4) The introduction wants provision "to assist the Catholic family to fulfill its responsibilities to assist other families and participate in the redemption and transformation of society through an awareness of the constitutive gospel dimension of action on behalf of justice. . ."

What the service of families will specifically be is detailed in the rest of the recommendations of that sector. They are in great measure taken up again in the document on Neighborhood under the church and neighborhood action (Ngh II, 1-8), church and community development (Ngh III, 1-10), and church and rural community. (Ngh IV, 1-13)

Nor is the emphasis on service less in the Personhood document, which links person to community and the needs of disadvantaged, dispossessed and marginal people for community service. (Pers III, 9) The language of this document is that of the church "demonstrating concern" (Pers II, 1), being "social advocate" (Ibid.), and "working to achieve full equality." (Pers II, 2)

Throughout the eight documents the call is repeated that the church should be on the side of the poor and the powerless. (Nat I, 2; Ngh III, 10) "To reach out to those in need" is the language of the Family document. (Fam II, 1) "Urgent needs of inner cities" must be responded to. (Ngh II) "To teach as Jesus did with sensitivity to the needs of all people" is the constant theme of Church. (Ch III, Intro)

Underlying Theology

Interwoven through the eight documents are repeated references to the Suffering Servant passage of Luke's Gospel and to those passages in the synods of 1971 and 1974 that elaborate upon this theme. Likewise the scattered phrases from the Vatican II's decree, *The Church in the Modern World*, on the same subject are



The needs of each person were central to the definition of church for the Detroit delegates.

employed. It seems that the image of Jesus as Servant was chosen to exemplify the Detroit delegates' understanding of the church. Their justification for this choice is that Jesus created that image for them.

Luke's text of the Suffering Servant is worth quoting, for in it Jesus applies to himself the language of the Suffering Servant of Isaiah:

The Spirit of the Lord is upon me because he has anointed me to preach the Good News to the poor. He has sent me to proclaim the release of captives and the recovery of sight to the blind, to set at liberty the oppressed, to proclaim the acceptable Year of the Jubilee. (Lk. 4:18-19)

In that moment of revealing himself to the congregation of a Galilean Synagogue as Lord of the Jubilee Year, Jesus, "after closing the scroll" added: "Today this scripture is being fulfilled in your hearing." (Lk. 4:21) Jesus lived his message. He went about doing good. He healed; he fed the hungry; he identified with his least brothers and sisters. (Mt. 25:20) In his resurrection he came to his disciples in their sense of abandonment, doubt, fear. He made the test of fitness for entry into the Kingdom of his Father the giving of a cup of cold water in his name.

If Jesus, Messiah and King, thus identifies with the unjust, sinners and publicans, he thereby indicates that it is unworthy of human beings to be the slaves of injustice. If no one else, he will lift them from their bondage.

It is unworthy to be in bondage because the achieving of the full stature of the human is a good thing. The glory of God is man and woman fully alive; man and woman sharing with Jesus his human nature. Jesus, we can never forget, loved and loves his humanity and the cosmos that is its extension.

He loves it and this enters into his performance of

miracles. For if he worked them to demonstrate his mission and his divinity, he worked them also, and perhaps in the first place, because it was not good that men and women be bound by blindness, lameness and death. He worked them because he shared the task of bringing a better world.

The delegates shared this feeling. They asked themselves: Are we to suppose that Jesus in his humanity is indifferent to our human effort and to our human hopes for something of justice and transformation of life to be realized here and now? Are we to suppose that he is satisfied to put off to the end of time all conquest of peace on earth? Is Jesus indifferent to millions dying of starvation? Are we to say that when Jesus made the blind to see and the lame to walk he was only making a symbolic gesture; not doing it because it was also a good thing to do in itself? Would that not be a condemned spiritualism and a misreading of the Parousia?

Herein the delegates found meaning for the struggle for justice. First, Jesus took human nature and lived it integrally some thirty years. In that union with our nature, he worked our salvation and in it men and women are recreated through grace. Yet our human nature remains, however graced, what God gave in creation and what he assumed. Here, too, the delegates found hope that we are destined by God to bring forth the good fruits of interior change of heart, liberation, humanization of life, justice, and love. Here they discovered hope that our nature, intelligence, imagination, creativity—all shared and lived by Christ—are instruments designed by God to bring good into this world. Jesus' living our nature is a sign of the purposefulness of the Father's original act of creating.

D. Church as Sign

The mystery of church, of that divine reality inserted into history, cannot be seen, that is, have sign-value, unless the church community renders the mystery

visible by its word, its sacramental union, and its life style. The Detroit delegates addressed themselves to all three areas of sign significance.

The delegates recognized one fundamental thing. The church cannot be a sign if she is not in the world, if she views herself as a superstructure above and outside the daily life of women and men. Only Christians working in and for the world, along with the world, in daily options of moral value are a sign of salvation.

The language of Detroit is explicit. The church should be a "sign of Christian presence and mission. . . ." (Ngh II, Intro) The recommendations on Family call on Catholics to give "the example of their lives" (Fam I, 2), and to be sign by example in the three areas of word, sacrament, and life. "The faith community" must provide symbolic character "in the dominions of teaching, sacrament and witness." (Hkd I, 8-a)

The Detroit faith community's understanding of its church can be summed up in the words of Vatican II. "By her relationship with Christ, the church is a kind of sacrament or sign of intimate union with God and of the unity of all mankind. She is also an instrument for the achievement of such union and unity." (*Light of Peoples*)

We have already seen what the Detroit delegates requested with regard to church as sign in its preaching of the word and in its sacramental life. As regards the church as sign in its service role, we refer above to the model of the church as servant. One can sum up all that Detroit says on service as symbolic and efficaciously so in the words of the Second Vatican Council: "When people develop the earth by the work of their hands . . . in order that it might bear fruit and become a dwelling worthy of the whole human family and when they consciously take part in the life of social groups, they carry out the design of God manifested at the beginning of time . . . that they should subdue the earth, perfect creation, and develop themselves." (CMW)

The sign value of church is particularly challenged in its own style of life. We already saw what changes were demanded in the institutional life of the church so that it might give better witness to the justice and compassion of Christ. We also saw that the Detroit Assembly firmly believed that the life style of Catholics does not bear scrutiny. "The church must strive to promote a simplicity of life as a visible sign of her evangelical attitude. . . ." (Ch I, Intro) Elizabeth Seton is quoted: "We call all Christians to 'live simply so that others may simply live'." (Ch II, 7) The document on Nationhood ends with the appeal that dioceses and religious orders review yearly their possessions, divesting themselves of what is unnecessary or not in keeping with "institutional simplicity." (Nat IV, 7)

A final word. The Working Paper on Church had cautioned that the parish consultations were not meant to produce a treatise on the church, and therefore, in particular, one should not cry scandal that there was no mention of the role of prayer. The same caution is required with respect to the Detroit Assembly. No one was consciously theologizing or trying to give a statement of Christian spirituality. Rather, the delegates were acting out a theology within a specific mandate which inevitably forced concentration on some aspects of Christian life.

Also in many instances, there is no explicit reference to the cross, for example, but how many implicit ones. The document Neighborhood draws our attention to "the celebration of Christ's dying and rising in our midst." (Ngh I, 1) This theme is echoed throughout the documents.

PART TWO

Community of Persons

I. INTRODUCTION

In planning the Liberty and Justice for All process, the bishops of the U.S. proposed a model of church as community within a world as community, wherein the pastoral task of building a church and the political task of building a world would be interwoven. As a necessary component of this goal, they proposed the study of personhood. Because of the nature of the Bicentennial process, eliciting response from the grassroots, the problems and painful areas of peoples' lives surfaced. Many individuals and groups professed alienation from that community which church should be for them.

The present consideration will 1) situate the search for community and personhood in contemporary experience; 2) describe the Detroit contributions; and 3) present a short reflection.

II. THE CONTEXT OF CONTEMPORARY EXPERIENCE

In modern urban technological civilization, uprootedness pervades much of our lives. Increasingly we feel

cut off from the community of our past, as well as from a lived community with other persons. Change, mobility, and competition cast us adrift with the result that a pervasive loneliness descends on our culture.

Occasionally, by the miracle of art, we retrieve our ties with a lost past. Viewing the television drama of ROOTS was a major retrieval of community with the past for black America. Something similar, in less powerful fashion, occurred some years back with Oscar Handlin's book, THE UPROOTED, which chronicled the journey of white European peasants to these shores. Such pluralist searches for community with the past—an indispensable platform for creative engagement with our common future—are occurring all across our culture, suggesting that people are reaching beyond the painful experience of uprootedness and loneliness.

In similar fashion, people are reaching for new creations of community with the present. The drive for liberation from age-old oppressions of racism, colonialism, sexism, and class exploitation are, in their positive face, struggles to create more human ways of living together. Yet these struggles can assume many forms,

some of which build community, and some of which further the process of alienation. Which then is the more creative path of freedom?

To questions such as this, religion offers both promise and problem. Institutions like the Catholic Church carry with them the tradition of centuries, even millennia. (Tradition is used here not in the strict sense of dogma transmitted and developed by the church, even though this includes cultural aspects, but in the broad sense of the cultural whole of life and practice.) This tradition can be either a tyrant or a creative resource. To some, unfortunately, tradition appears only as a tyrant. Some of these persons would cast off tradition entirely, seeing it only as a repository of oppression. But in the process they break continuity with their own roots and deepen the process of isolation. To others, tradition appears as a sacred trust, never to be changed. These are the people who leave to the next generation a cultural corpse and enhance the image of tyrant in the process. To still others, fortunately, tradition is a creative resource, although not a solution. For them, community with the past is indispensable for

ongoing life with others, yet it is not enslavement. Their tradition is a living creation of constant adaptation and new synthesis in a dynamic and organic process. To reach back and to reach out are the same thrust.

A welcome example of the unquenchable creativity of the tradition is the worldwide movement of Christians gathering in small groups—perhaps best known from Latin America as *comunidades de base* (grassroots or base communities), but equally strong in Africa, Asia, and Southern Europe, as well as with pocket echoes here in the United States. In this new institution, the treasure lode of the past is kept alive and tapped for new yield, while in the process any collective tyranny within the tradition which formerly carried too little sense of person is transformed.

Persons in community, then, linking us with both our roots and with our brothers and sisters—this is the new model which seems to be rising out of the loneliness and uprootedness of contemporary civilization.

III. THE DETROIT CONTRIBUTIONS

The initial Discussion Guide of the Bicentennial process set the tone for what was to come by stating that the process was intended for "the communities in which we live, grow and develop as persons." (Guide, p. 6) In addition to the church, these communities are family, neighborhood, work, racial/ethnic group, nation and world. The Guide emphasized social responsibility, the search for the common good and the recognition of interdependence, not only of person and family, church and neighborhood, but also of nation and world. At the Hearings it was insisted that:

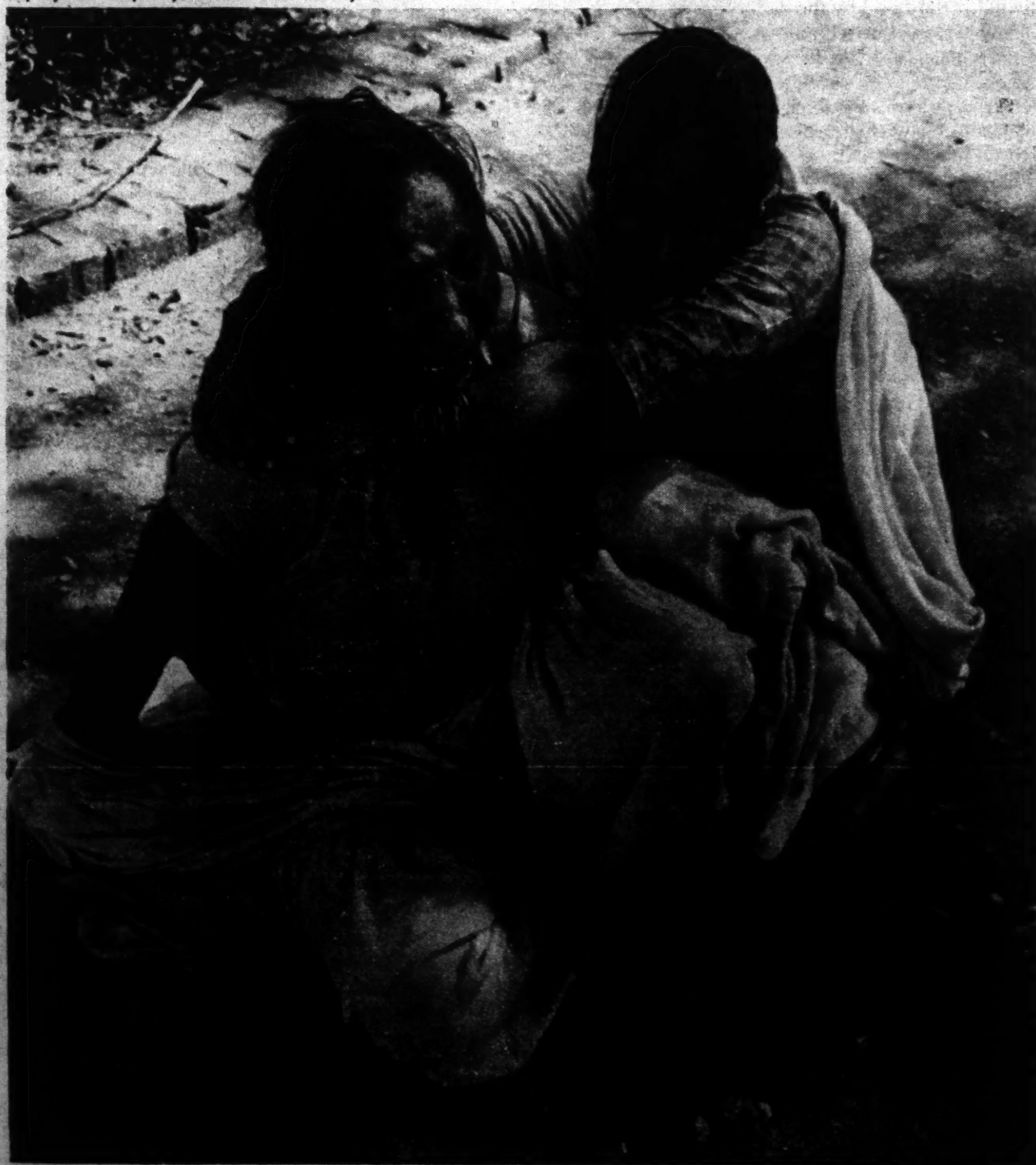
Individualism is unrealistic . . . it does not recognize that we are social creatures; from the language we speak and therefore the thoughts we think, we begin with what society has given us. (HR, Fam, p. 37)

To fulfill its function, we were told, the church needs to learn "to sacralize communal models." (HR, Hkd, p. 34) In the course of the Hearings, the church was seen as in itself a kaleidoscope of communities—small Eucharistic gatherings of individuals and families, the parish, deanery, diocese, the international organization centered in Rome—all relating to and impacting upon the many forms of secular communities. Likewise it was acknowledged that these secular communities impact on persons and church communities.

A. Family and Personalism

The family as the basic community was recognized in the Hearings as having special tasks of providing 1) care and love, 2) a livable environment, and 3) the transmission of material goods and particular values.

A profound respect for the "otherness" of others.



(HR, Fam, p. 39)

While recognizing "the right of persons to development" the Discussion Guide on Family had called "the art of living productively, of living together without destroying one another . . . a mystery, and recognized that 'living with that mystery is a noble calling.'" (Guide, Fam, p. 50) The parish discussion had emphasized that familial roles should "grow out of the articulation of experience and shared responsibility." (Fam, Summary, p. 6)

But "families that stay together without being possessive or dependent" need "a commitment to something bigger than their own family life. . . . [P]arents [must] have a conscious aim or ideal which draws their eyes beyond the domestic horizon." (HR, Fam, p. 66)

Another important realization of Catholic scholars that appeared frequently through the preparatory material and the Hearings was the need to build strong consciousness of personal integrity within a series of relationships rooted in history and in common aspirations.

In the Hearings personalism was hailed as "the greatest contribution of the Spanish-speaking people. . . . The person incarnates the group and is at the service of the group, as the group is to the person." (HR, Nat, p. 3) It is "out of personalism that the community arises" where there is "not uniformity but fully respected variety in unity." (loc. cit.)

B. Detroit—A Community of Persons

The Detroit Call to Action assembly was recognizable as community. It was community mainly because the occasion gave emphasis to the delegates as persons, persons who could think, feel, pray, talk, listen, exert influence, and relate to one another in pursuit of a goal which was greater than their individual good and yet encompassing of that good. It was community also because delegates were conscious of various areas of rootedness, like race or sex or ethnicity.

Delegates came to Detroit with a keen sense of responsibility, not only to the particular groups or dioceses whose delegates they were, but also to a somewhat abstract theme: Liberty and Justice. Their commitment to the task and to one another deepened during the conference hours. And in their expressions of concern, of mutual respect amid disagreements, they generated spirit—a spirit which may well have been a gift of the Holy Spirit, a spirit which transformed the powerlessness felt by many individuals and hurting groups at the local level into a sense of the assembly's power. In favor of these hurting groups, in section after section, the delegates articulated a set of concrete recommendations for action, actions mainly to create communities of persons.

C. Communities/Persons Under the Gospel

The delegates saw the church as "a community organized under the Gospel." (Ch I, Intro) They called upon the bishops then to "give priority to the development of community" at parish and diocesan levels, to affirm and encourage "church movements which unite persons in small communities in worship, prayer, study, evangelization and apostolic service." (Pers I, 1)

The delegates affirmed marriage and family as basic communities, if each member is respected. . . . Within the Christian family commitment, marriage and family life should also enhance the freedom of men and women to fulfill their personal potential and participate fully in the life of their world." (Fam I, 1)

They asked all in the church to affirm "the validity of personal sexual fulfillment in married life" and to engage in dialogue which respects the dignity, freedom and responsibility of each one, with persons in different lifestyles, to probe "the human and spiritual significance of human sexuality." (Pers III, 1) Parents have a special responsibility for the education of their children to mature sexuality (Pers III, 3), because sexuality is recognized "as an essential element of personhood, and its expression is of human and spiritual significance in the development of every human person." (Pers I, Intro)

In considering women and men as persons, the Call to Action stressed "the basic goodness and inviolability of the human person made in the image and likeness of God." It proclaimed: "Although personhood is a divine gift, its development is a human, social responsibility." (Pers II, Intro)

IV. REFLECTIONS: COMMUNITY OF PERSONS, GIFT AND STRUGGLE

The Detroit process had many things to say about persons and communities but it emphasized two truths: one about persons, the other about communities. The person, it said, made basically good in the image and likeness of God, has an inviolability which creates each one a kind of sacred and independent center in the world of things. The person is separated from material surroundings by consciousness—the ability to discover meaning in and to convey meaning to situations. Persons can grow in consciousness of themselves as possessing an inner core of freedom, as being capable of responsible choices through their relationships with others. Such growth requires profound respect for the "otherness" of others—their sacred independence—and for the process which makes mutual freedom the very condition for communion and hence community.

About community, the Detroit process claimed it a gift from God but one which people must struggle together to create. It is gift in the sense that human persons are radically social from birth and have the capacity as they are socialized to become ever finer images of God; that Jesus engages the human experience in being His own person, identified as "a person for others," and that the Holy Spirit is at work in all persons empowering them to build communities of unity and love. At the same time, community is a human creation in that persons have the freedom both to struggle to establish their reality of being persons for others, as well as to resist corporate action and block expressions of common concern. When people do exert initiative and continued effort on behalf of others in the spirit of the Gospel, community happens.

Societies organized as community take pains to incorporate the experience of persons through at least representative participation, open channels of communication, recognition of rights, and due process of law. Through as broad an inclusiveness and respect for difference as is possible within its goal, this kind of society seeks to cultivate rather than diminish personal dignity and self-worth.

The representatives at Detroit saw the call to respect all persons within community as a challenge to the church itself to be free of sexism and racism, of chauvinism and classism. Women, blacks and Hispanics, Native Americans and Asian Americans, the poor, the divorced and those of varied sexual orientation, all are—because of their sacred personhood—to be encouraged to articulate their personal and communal experience, and thus influence policy decisions.

V. CONCLUSION

Persons in community bound together in the interwoven task of building church and world; persons in the process reaching back to their deepest roots and simultaneously outward to human solidarity; this is the model and challenge Detroit proposes. In a profound irony, the religious tradition, in part the carrier of humanity's most ancient sins, also bears within itself the seeds of ever renewing creativity. To find ourselves, to tap our roots, to support each other—in our sexuality, in our marriage, in our family, in our grassroots community, in our neighborhood, in our work, in and across our racial/ethnic heritages, in our nation, and throughout our human family—this is where the Gospel calls us.

Detroit and World Justice

No one can fault the Detroit conference on the score of ignoring world justice. More than half the sections recommend actions to support justice for the world's poor, protection of their rights, and a fairer sharing of the world's resources between rich and poor lands. The recommendation on education for justice is entitled "Education for World Justice."

What is lacking, totally lacking, however, is any analysis of what the problems of world justice are or any indication of avenues toward their solution. The main body of this present chapter will be concerned with filling in that gap of analysis. But first we turn to what Detroit did in fact say about world justice, including peace.

I. HUMANKIND

Humankind contains three sets of recommendations: 1) Education for Justice, 2) Defense of Human Rights, and 3) Disarmament and Peace. To Education for Justice we devote a separate chapter.

A. Defense of Human Rights

What is most interesting under this title, beyond support for the UN Declaration on Human Rights and the addition of the right "to a nutritionally adequate diet" and to "health care," is that the Detroit assembly was mainly concerned about the rights of people in the Third World and our impact upon those rights. Thus we "must allow economic and political systems other than our own." We must deny military or economic aid to governments that abuse the rights of their citizens. Our bishops should "examine the moral dimensions of U. S. policies, including the impact of multinational firms doing business in the Third World." For the same reason the policies of Catholic Relief Services should be examined in order to improve their contribution to the true development of poor lands. We should live simply to share with the world's poor. The resolution on human rights ends with an appeal for amnesty for undocumented immigrants; the monitoring, under the Helsinki Accord, of rights in Eastern Europe; and the condemnation of suppression of rights of political prisoners everywhere.

B. Disarmament and Peace

Some bishops and some diocesan papers have rejected this section as radical, even extremist. Why? Because they presume to discover in the recommendations the call for unilateral disarmament. But, in fact, it is really not there. Detroit does condemn the use of nuclear deterrent as immoral. The delegates ask: "that the U. S. Catholic community condemn . . . production, possession, proliferation and threatened use of nuclear weapons . . . even in a policy of deterrence. . . ." (Hkd III, 1) We hope Detroit's critics do not condemn the assembly for that recommendation, for it is drawn from the Vatican's 1976 statement to the UN! "The armaments race is to be condemned unreservedly" and that "even when motivated by . . . legitimate self-defense."

In its condemnation do the Detroit delegates require unilateral disarmament? The Vatican does not. It argues on the contrary that "disarmament must be gradual" and to become "a reality must not be carried out unilaterally." Detroit's equivalent language is this. Noting that the arms race has become "an irrational dynamic" it calls for educational effort "paving the way for initiatives for disarmament leading to general and complete disarmament." (Hkd II, 3) "Initiatives," of course, do not constitute sudden, total unilateral disarmament, but only beginning steps and gestures that can summon serious reciprocal actions.

II. TOWARD A NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL WORLD ORDER

To complement the recommendations of Detroit the remainder of this chapter will be devoted to the major world event of our times—the struggle for a new world order. Inevitably lack of space will permit only an overview with many simplifications and omissions to be taken up at some other time.

A. Interdependencies That Impact the Poor World

A word on terminology. For simplification the rich industrial nations, clustered mainly around the North Atlantic, will be referred to as the North or First World. The poor countries, lying mainly in the Southern hemisphere, Latin America, Asia, and Africa, will be called the South. For variation they will at times be designated as the Third World. (The Second World is the USSR and the socialist states of Eastern Europe.) Some like to distinguish within the South a Third and Fourth World. In this terminology the Third World are the richer countries, including the oil-producers and certain other "middle income" countries like Mexico, Brazil, Singapore, and South Korea which enjoy yearly growth rates of 4%. The Fourth World is the poorest segment of



The rights of people everywhere were a concern of the Detroit delegates.

the South. For our purposes the two categories of the South are the Third World.

1. Four Related Dependencies

All are familiar with the phenomenon of interdependencies. No one missed the symbol of the first satellite photograph of mother earth, seen for the first time as a small oneness out there, a tiny spaceship, a global village. Four interdependencies have strong negative impact for future development in the whole world but especially in the poorer countries. These are the energy crisis, the food crisis, the ongoing depression of the industrial North and its chronic inflation. These we now consider.

a) The Energy Crisis. The devastation wreaked in the industrial world by the dwindling supplies of easy oil and gas, together with the price hikes that followed, is a familiar fact of life. Its impact on the poor nations has been far more devastating. The U. S. manages its oil deficit by sale of commercial aircraft, arms, and food. The South, as we shall see, because markets are blocked to its products and because the prices they get for them run far behind the prices they must pay for industrial equipment, can not meet deficits on purchases of energy and food. Yet energy is essential to their food production—irrigation, tractors, trucks, and trains.

b) The Food Crisis. Monsoons and increased productivity have brightened the picture for India's half billion people. But monsoons are uncertain. If the U. S. West may currently face another Dust Bowl, so surely may India. Elsewhere in the world, together with improvement, there are dark spots of malnutrition and hunger. Rapid increases of population still outrun increases in agricultural production in many poor countries. Few experts believe that an early end is in sight for the need of grain reserves, food aid, and aid for increasing agricultural output.

c) Continuing Depression in the Industrial North. The North's now chronic depression also has a cruel impact on the South. First, it shrinks up demand for poor countries' raw materials, since reduced industrial activity cuts back demand for the materials that go into industrial production. Second, because depression brings in its wake heavy unemployment, the industrial world throws up a wall of protection around its jobs by excluding competition from Third World exports. Third, it weakens further the North's already weak will to meet the UN target of 0.7 percent of Gross National Product in annual governmental (and concessional) aid. U. S. aid is in fact less than half of that target. To this we return in another context.

d) Chronic Inflation. Because of inflation in food prices, governments of the North, eager though they be to profit through sales of food to the poor, are torn from that objective by the need to keep plentiful supplies for the home market to keep down domestic food prices. The result is that either insufficient supplies are available for the world's needy, or they can have the food only at exorbitant prices.

The North's apparently endless inflation has two other evil results in the South. It makes acquisition of the North's farm machinery enormously costly for poor

people. It also eats away at the value of the dollars they have already earned.

2. Other Key Interdependencies

a) The Use of Resources. The Club of Rome, among others, has pushed research on whether population growth will, by the year 2000, outrun supplies of natural resources. A first study, *Limits to Growth*, drew scary conclusions of impending limits. The Club of Rome in subsequent reports has revised its thinking in a more optimistic vein. What led them to this revision? The criticism that they had omitted from their original scenario the most important resource of all—human inventiveness. Repeatedly in the past humankind has met crises by discovering and creating new materials and learning to use them efficiently.

Yet, there is today great competition for resources. That competition drives prices upward, benefiting those who have a supply of scarce goods, and, in a world ruled by market prices, the poor inevitably get cut out.

b) Environmental Interdependence. The spaceship photograph of the earth compressed our globe into swirls of land masses and water flowing from one hemisphere to another. That is not far from the truth. Air, water, and the upper atmosphere are the world commons we all share. This is true in part even of our soil. For evidence of this commons we need only think of the swift transfer of pollution from zone to zone. Water carries it. So does air. Heating up the upper atmosphere from industrial activity in one country can bring air disturbances and change of climate to other parts of the world.

c) The Population/Employment/Environment Triad. Fearful that resource limitations may force a reduction of their high standard of living, the capitalist nations seek to foist their problems off onto the poor nations. The North urges the South to recognize the world's resource limits and to take the consequences into consideration in their development process. There are limits to the amount of ecological damage the North can sustain from their own pollution compounded by wasteful industrial and technical processes on the one hand, and unconscionable consumption habits on the other. Here, too, we expect the Third World to bail us out—even taking over our high pollution industries.

Clearly, argues the rich world, there are going to be too many people in the world relative to available resources and to sustainable ecological health. There are also going to be too many people in the Third World for available jobs, which means more poor people. That in turn means increased demands on us to share our hard-earned wealth. To correct this triad of resource limits, environmental hazards, and unemployment, some brain-trusts of the North propose "triage." This is a method used to sort out those who will be allowed to survive in a crisis (or on the battlefield where the concept originated). Some can make it on their own, some can make it if helped from the outside, others must be allowed to die—they are too far gone. This thinking, the South is quick to point out, means death for them, while the rich nations, freed of a concern to lower their own high consumption patterns, stand by and watch.

d) Technological Independence. Established tradition would have it that optimum world output results from an exchange of the North's industrial goods and technology for the South's raw materials. Such a theory binds the Third World once again. They must buy the technology for their own development from the North. They have very little to say about whether it is suited to their needs. In fact, it is not suitable. The capitalist nations produce and market to the Third World a technology that meets labor problems by substituting machines and automated processes for labor. The South with their tragically high numbers of unemployed want just the opposite. They need a simpler technology, one that puts more people to work.

3. Whose World Village?

Certainly out of these crises the world will be restructured. Certainly in that restructuring the North will be less powerful than in the past. Hopefully this restructuring will be creative and bring richer life to all humankind, but we cannot presume that automatically. There are many questions to keep in the back of our minds as we now examine the structural gap between the rich and poor nations of the world.

Granted that the world is being converted into a global village, what kind of a village will it be? Will it be a village of intensely competitive units of national security states, which view the international market as a battlefield, and conduct their own internal affairs on a model of social warfare, with the poor and working people as the losers across the globe? Or rather will this village be administered by a homogeneous managerial class on a worldwide scale, with little sensitivity for the

sufferings and exploitations of the poor and working people? Is this global village, then, to be one where power and profit for the few reign supreme, this time in a cosmopolitan spirit? Or will it be a global village where the human needs of all are served?

Thus, it is not enough to urge "development" and "internationalization." We need also ask, what kind of development and whose internationalization? But let us now turn to the great crisis of the gap between the rich and poor nations.

B. The North/South Gap

There exists a wide gap between the North and South with the exception of the wealthiest of the OPEC oil-producers. Up to now, that gap has been looked at in terms of the need to "catch up." Now, more enlightened spokespersons of the South view the gap as a measure of the obstacles to their own self-reliant development, one that does not require "catching up." In this view the gap appears as domination and exploitation on the one side and opportunity denied on the other.

Still there is a gap of wealth and income that is terribly burdensome. The World Bank's President, Robert McNamara, in his October 1976 report to the Bank's governors, gives these figures. Income per head in the North is running at \$5,500, with even the best of the South (a few OPEC nations excepted) running far behind. Still, as pointed out above, the "middle income" countries are able to emerge from poverty, though the bottom 40% of their people have not seen much of that potential for escaping poverty trickle down to them. Later we shall see that even these "middle income" nations encounter obstacles to an indigenous, ensured progress.

Meanwhile, the poorest countries, those averaging an annual income under \$150 per person in 1975 and comprising over 1.2 billion people, have to content themselves with annual increases of a bare two dollars a head. At the lower end of the spectrum of poverty this means further declines from already abysmally low levels of nutrition, substandard housing, and health. Over 700 million people, McNamara tells us, live at the very margin of existence.

C. Power and Domination

1. Introduction

If there is a gap in wealth and income, so is there a gap in power between North and South. The world's rich minority binds the earth's poor majority through its power of technology and industrial establishment, through control of trade and credit, and through the power of their multinational corporations. Latin Americans tend to view the relationship between the capitalist First World and the Third World as one exclusively of domination and dependence. If the Third World is poor it is because the North is rich at the expense of the poor. Such a theory ignores other possible factors—world distribution of natural resources, population pressure in the developing nations, priorities favoring conspicuous consumption, etc.

But one can agree that there has been and remains much domination. There has been and continues to be much exploitation. There is the power to abuse and that power is used. There is inequality of opportunity. This power gap together with inequality of opportunity add up to what the Third World with good reason calls international disorder. The situation that creates this disorder is constituted by the international order of which the capitalist world is so proud. This disorder results in a distribution of gains from trade, international investment, and technology which disproportionately favor the already rich and powerful. Fairer sharing in power and opportunity will be denied the poor world as long as decision-making in such world bodies as the International Monetary Fund remains virtually the exclusive privilege of the rich nations.

2. Four Central Linkages

Four linkages will serve to illustrate the gap in power and opportunity. These are trade, credit, technology, and the multinational corporations. Limits of space force concentration on the first two. Unfortunately, these are also the most technical. But entry into technical analysis cannot be avoided if we are to have some understanding of the issues at stake that require our moral reflection and decision. Our analysis here will be bare-boned and quite elementary.

a) The Inequity of World Trade. The South believes that the international trade system benefits the North disproportionately. Trade theory as expounded in the North claims that the poor nations gain from the rising prosperity of the rich and trade is the mechanism. As the rich grow in industrial prosperity, they require more raw materials. This causes prices of these materials to rise thus benefitting the developing nations. Also, as labor costs rise in the industrialized world, investors shift their investment to the developing nations where labor costs are lower. This investment launches the poor world into industrialization. Then too, in free exchanges the Third World is at liberty to move labor as well as its capital into the industrial North.

However, such freedom of labor to migrate is extremely limited in today's world. For example, unskilled labor migrates from South to North in Europe—but is returned home when depression hits the Common Market. Meanwhile, the North's capital tends to go where capital already is. U.S. investments are found overwhelmingly in Europe.

If the flow of factors of production—labor and capital—bears little resemblance to that foreseen by trade theory, the same, in the view of the Third World, can be said of the flow of raw materials and manufactured goods. The North is able to keep out of its markets competitive products. The North as a whole pours some \$20 billion into protecting its farmers from the South's agricultural products. Its industrial workers and investors are also protected.

On one point of trade there can be little disagreement. This is that the value added to raw materials in the processing step goes mainly to the rich industrial North. The annual bill paid by consumers in the North for beverages, foods, and manufactured goods originating in the raw materials produced by the South amounts to over \$200 billion. Of that, the producers of the raw materials get only \$30 billion. Just as within a nation the farmer gets relatively little of the consumer's dollar, with most going to middlemen and distributors, so too in the case of the developing countries. The value added to the product of their fields goes in part to their own middlemen. But largely it goes to those who control most of the processing of these raw materials, the finishing of them, and even their distribution within the developing world itself. And these are the processors of the rich world. Think, for example, of the big names in cocoa production.

If the rich industrial world could be persuaded to transfer to the South more of this processing and distribution of the South's own raw materials the developing world would stand, in some estimates, to gain an annual \$150 billion in earnings. If this be contrasted with the meager \$8 billion of aid received from the North, it is easy to see where the South's main reliance ought to be placed.

b) Who Controls and Who Gets Credit? Pius XI in his encyclical written on the Fortieth Anniversary of *Rerum Novarum* called credit "the life blood of the nation." It is equally the life-blood of the world. Pius challenged the power of credit creation and the inequities of access to it. In the developed rich nations the poor get credit, if at all, on terms far less favorable than those accorded the rich and powerful.

The same holds true on the world scene. In his address, mentioned above, the President of the World Bank maintains that even though the debt of the poor nations is a great obstacle to their development, it is not as much a problem as is inaccessibility to credit.

What he has in mind is this. A few financial powers like the USA can finance their own deficits by creating their own short-term credit. In addition, they have unlimited access to international credit. The weaker of the industrial nations of the North can get help on deficits from the International Monetary Fund's (IMF) Special Drawing Rights which are a paper credit created by the Fund. These are also available to the South but on very limited quotas. These quotas will not change easily, given the slight power the South has on IMF decision-making. Established estimates have it that of \$130 billion of international reserves only about four percent goes to poor countries.

Credit is one form of purchasing power, and just as the rich within a nation who possess credit can move the market and so production in accordance with their desires, so too at the world level. The rich nations with easy access to credit are in the driver's seat in world production. In the South the poorest nations are considered un-credit worthy. But even the "middle income" countries cannot get credit on the same terms as countries in the North.

This view requires some qualification, for, as we shall see later, the South does receive some credit from Northern governments, the IMF and World Bank, and recently private banks. But the terms on which they receive much of their credit appear excessively onerous to the South. In any case it is inadequate to their needs. Here they point out that governments of the North in order to prevent those of their citizens with purchasing power from garnering too much of the nation's goods and services, redistribute income and credit to the poorer. Why, asks the Third World, isn't there some such authority for fairer distribution of credit at the world level?

c) Technology Is Power. Technology is lots of things. It is calculators, earth-movers, typewriters, tractors, trucks, miracle-rice, fishing boats, storage systems, food distribution—all things the developing nations urgently need. Technology is also research, ideas, innovation, systems analysis, and the arts of decision-making together with their tools. All of these the South needs progressively more according to the stage of material development the various countries have reached.

For the South only a few countries are producers of technology, the North Atlantic countries and Japan. Its possessors have to a considerable degree a monopoly hold on important technologies and the power to im-

pose monopoly prices in the form of sale price or rental. Buyers can't very well argue. They would prefer a technology less elaborate, more sturdy, easier to repair, less prone (at times deliberately made so) to obsolescence. They would like it not to displace workers. They would like it less polluting and more respectful of their culture. But they have to take it as offered or leave it, and take it at the price dictated to them.

d) Power of the Multinational Corporation. Our purpose requires only a paragraph of introduction to this vast subject. Most capitalists see their investment as only and utterly beneficent. They bring technology and know-how to the poor world. They create jobs. They supply the goods the developing world needs. Agribusiness creates the machines that bring food to tables. Drug companies provide needed medicine.

But their huge investments, even where not abused, do carry the power to dominate. Gradually weak host nations are learning how to cope with this power and are managing to draw some benefits without suffering too many evil consequences. The day may arrive when the multinationals are tamed, are made accountable through strict enforceable codes. They may even cease to be the "devices for perpetuating the maldistribution of income and wealth." But a much more fundamental question will still remain. This is whether these corporations even if they want to, can respond to the real basic human needs of the masses of the poor nations' people.

D. Third World Call for a New Deal

1. Introduction

Today the Third World wants repeated at the world level the "New Deal" in power and income that has been achieved with some degree of success within democratic capitalism. That social justice which the North prides itself on the South now wants extended into an international social justice.

An effort to state such a program has been made by the South. It is called the New International Economic Order (NIEO) and emerged out of two Special Sessions of the UN, 1974 and 1975. If there is any "newness" to NIEO it is mainly newness of statement. Three points only are new in content: 1) the demand for assured control of a country's own resources, 2) less emphasis on aid and more on striking a new deal on economic power, and 3) abandonment of the goal of "closing the gap" in favor of sufficient equality of opportunity to enable poor countries to develop self-reliant development according to their own values and goals.

To achieve equality of opportunity—and that means to redress present imbalance of economic and political power—NIEO proposed the following: 1) regaining full sovereign control over national resources including waters off the shoreline and territorial waters and 2) gaining from these resources a decent livelihood and development. The first requires no further comment. The second is central to Third World's demands. It implies freer entry to the North's markets for their products and at more stable and more remunerative prices.

2. Third World's Particular Demands

a) Breaking Through Protected Markets. We saw that the North protects their markets from "invasion" by the "cheap-labor" products of the South. The South recognizes the justification for protecting jobs under some circumstances, but they point out 1) that it is the North themselves that call for free trade; 2) that the North gains because competition from cheaper goods drives down prices; and 3) that the North will not be able to sell to the South if the latter are not able to earn dollars to spend on foreign goods.

b) A Just Price. The language in the NIEO is not that of just price, but the idea is. If we put coffee on your breakfast table, Brazilian farmers ask, do we not have a right to a decent wage from our work? (The question supposes that an increase in price and earnings of coffee will not get siphoned off into higher profits for the coffee dealer.) What developing countries ask for here is international price agreements. This will require for most raw materials and food like bananas, coffee, cocoa, and tea the building up of stocks of most of these commodities. The stocks are used to stabilize the price at an agreed level. For example, if world prices for coffee are rising above the agreed price, stocks are released so as to pull prices back in line. If prices fall below the agreed level stocks are built up and cause prices to rise. Price agreements are highly complex and have not thus far been very successful. Attempts to lift prices above the market price run into the North's consumer resistance and their ability to discover synthetic alternatives.

c) Fair Share in Processing. Turning coffee beans into ground coffee, cocoa beans into cocoa, raw cotton into even unfinished cloth is highly lucrative. So much so that the U.S. has used its power to reserve most processing for itself. Of the \$200 billion consumers pay for the product on store shelves only \$30 billion goes back to the original producers in the Third World. That is why the Third World is ever more incessantly demanding more of this processing. It could bring them far more gain than the most generous aid program conceivable.

d) A Lid on Inflation. The industrial North's inflation is disastrous for the South in ways already seen. In fact, two-thirds of their current deficits are due to rises in the North's food and industrial prices. One proposal of the South is to index prices of what they sell to the North against prices of what they buy from the North. The latter strongly resists this.

e) Fairer Debt Management. A final important point of the NIEO focuses on Third World debt, a total of some \$180 billion. Trade deficit on current account is now running at \$50 billion. This is a huge rise over 1974. Up to one-third reflects the hike in oil prices and the other two-thirds the chronic inflation in the industrial world. To meet amortization and interest on their debt the Third World will in 1977 have to come up with \$20 billion.

To meet their debt obligations the developing nations urge a general debt cancellation or moratorium for those countries most affected by world price rises. Needs of other Third World debtors would be met by lengthening the period of repayment. They have other longer-term proposals. But these are too highly technical to permit analysis in the short space available. To these proposals, the North's response is inadequate, a topic we pursue later.

E. Can Third World Power Win in Their New Deal?

In the last few years we have seen several reversals of tactics by the South in their efforts to get results. Earlier, they tried sitting politely around the tables of UN conferences. That failing, they tried the route of confrontation, at times, angry confrontation. They even added ominous threats about alternatives if the North did not come through.

With the oil-producers' spectacular success in driving up the price of oil through solidarity of action, an attractive possibility presented itself. Why not mini-OPEC's for copper, bauxite, coffee, cotton—for all the other products of the South needed by the North? Collective bargaining became their battle cry. Imitation of the success of the North's own trade unions was the model. And why not mass bargaining power not on one or other product but also in support of the whole of NIEO?

Can the Third World go the route of collective bargaining? The North thinks not, arguing that the South controls the supplies of very few raw materials (other than oil and gas) and so has limited bargaining power. As prices rise the North will be prodded into a search for synthetic substitutes. Beyond their limited control of supplies, the North considers the South rather impotent in financial, economic, and political power. Still, a good case can be made for the South's eventual capacity through cooperation and growing economic and political strength to create a countervailing power that the North must respect. We cannot pause to make that case here.

run to thwart certain of our political objectives, especially in Africa and Asia. And in the long-run, they will achieve strength from the very fact of their numbers, together with inevitable growth in economic and political power as they learn to cooperate effectively among themselves.

Concerning interference with the market through price agreements, we live largely on the myth that, as believers in free enterprise, we never interfere with markets. The record in all industrial countries is one of endless interference. Think of our widespread parity pricing for farm products, minimum wages, unemployment insurance. Then too, public interference with the market is welcomed by private business when the government bails out bankrupt railroads, supports non-competitive air fares, etc. In fact, parity pricing is an effort to achieve a fair price, what Catholic social teaching calls the "just price." If it justifies regulation at home, why not also international regulation in favor of a just price for the poor world?

3. Second Basic Position

This is that we do rather well by the developing nations on aid, trade, and debt relief. We must look at these three, however briefly.

a) Myth of Generous Aid. Typically Americans believe we give away as much as 5% of our income. In fact, it is not 1%. It is not half of 1%. It is a bare 0.25%. Moreover, only part of that small sum (about \$1½ billion in economic aid), is outright gift. The rest is in loans to be repaid and with interest, however low in some cases. The total effort amounts to only 1½% of what we spend on arms. Eight of our European partners give double our aid.

b) Myth of Open Markets. The fact is that U.S. industry carries on production behind tariff walls and other barriers that only the strongest can penetrate—and no one can penetrate if we build them high enough. We have of course no tariff barrier against the South's aircraft for the simple reason that the poor cannot produce them. We do have barriers against such crucially important goods as textiles, shoes, ceramics, and semi-processed goods like ground coffee. Duty on an imported bar of chocolate is 30%. True, there are American jobs to be protected. It would take us far afield to explore what is fair protection, or to say in what ways we can adjust our work force to allow freer entry. Suffice it to say that we have never really explored these questions seriously.

c) Myth of U.S. Generosity. In all fairness it should be said that the U.S. has cancelled debts in certain impossible situations. India is a recent beneficiary of this treatment. But our efforts are in no way proportionate to today's staggering debt situation. Total debt of the South is about \$180 billion. Current debt, mainly because of hikes in oil and food prices and inflation in industrial prices, climbed \$7.5 billion in 1974, \$35 bil-

markets, more generous debt renegotiation, or in urgent cases outright cancellation. Whatever road the U.S. chooses, it may not with immunity frustrate once again the hopes of the world's poor.

G. A New International Political Order?

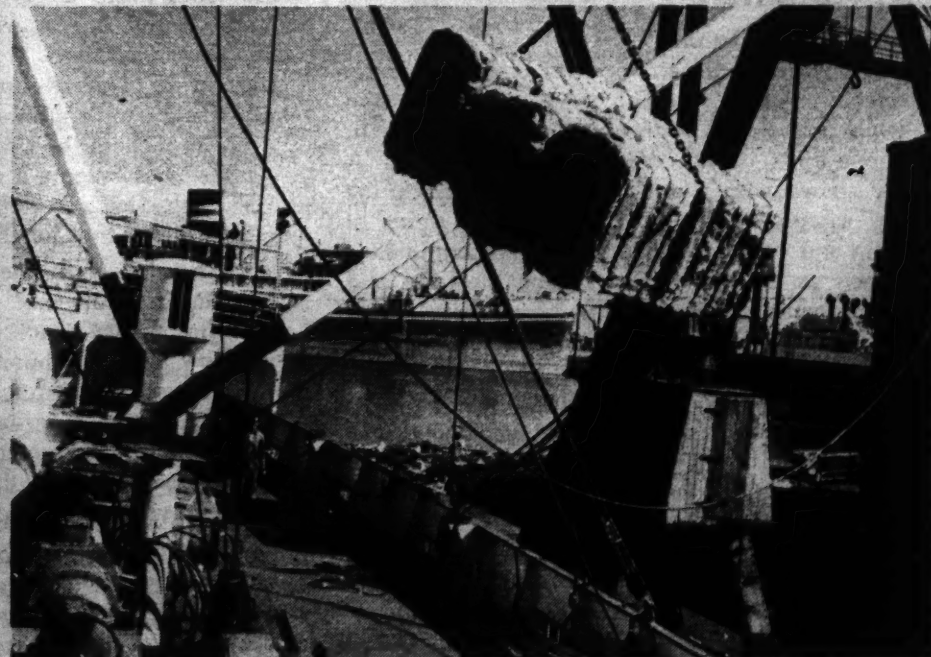
Clearly Detroit should have put more decisively into its Agenda for the church's social action for the next five years our grappling with the set of global justice problems here delineated. The question is whether any response that fails to include not only a new economic but also a new political world order does not fall fatally short. At the minimum, as Pope Paul writes in his *Call to Action*, the call is to eradicate narrow national egoism. "Nations are often blinded by egoism and prevented from seeing how their own true interests are compatible with the interests of other states and coincide with the general good of the human family as a whole."

But more is needed. New political structures are needed. We must have that "courage to revise existing systems and institutions" to which Paul calls us in the same Apostolic Letter and, therefore, equally to his call there for "forward-looking imagination."

We return to asking fundamental questions not yet answered by Third World proposals for a new international economic order. Does the governing of our common patrimony require a one-world state? Could a federation adequately respond? The complexity of orderly use of our world "commons" suggests one common world authority. But perhaps several partial jurisdictions would suffice. Under the UN, for example, there could be an authority for the seabeds. Another for control of pollution. Another for development of energy. Another for trade.

Again, does coordinated use of limited resources require international planning? If there is to be coordination without any overall global plan, the assumption is one of some sort of consensus on where the system ought to move, its goals, and guidelines of conduct. But this requires internal adjustments by the several nation-states within a new social compact. The powerful will want to evade responsibility of adjustment. Thus the U.S. does not yet want to face adjustments for unemployment resulting from freer market entry.

If the USA can feel so threatened, so much more do weaker and poorer nation-states. These, already security-conscious from threats to their power from within or real or presumed threats from outside, will only intensify governmental controls over every aspect of activity, including control of food and energy. To compete more effectively within the opportunities provided, they will be tempted to discipline labor. These states, many even highly repressive police states, are organized around a narrowly defined national security served by systems of efficient productive corporations. Such states may be fearful of entry into world cooperation on the grounds that international rules would



The countries of the rich North have a monopoly hold on important technologies of the world. Trade continues to be weighted in their favor.

F. U.S. Response to NIEO

1. Introduction

We now single out the U.S. from the North for special attention. Ideally, one would distinguish attitudes of the U.S. people from those of their government. In some cases the people's response is more open. In others, more closed. Here we treat mainly governmental response.

Up to the present the United States has had two basic positions. First, a general one. This is that the Third World is not very important to us economically; that, in any case, they cannot really hurt us; and besides their "new economies" is bad economics because it threatens the sanctity of the free market and, therefore, we must stand firm against them. The second basic position is that in the main we are already generous in terms of aid, trade, transfer of technology, etc.

2. First Basic Position

On the score of their unimportance, we had better take a careful look at the South's capacity in the short-

lion in 1975, and \$50 billion in 1976. Is this owing to the South's profligacy in spending? Not even the flintiest banker says that. It's the result of borrowing for survival, to buy energy, food, and industrial equipment necessary for economic development. Other than the oil-producers, the culprits responsible for the price rises are the U.S. and its rich partners.

4. Will U.S. Sharing Improve?

The South holds high hopes that the shift from a Republican to a Democratic—even a Populist—regime signals a more open-handed U.S. In two main theatres of negotiations they await confirmation of their hopes. These are the Paris talks where the North/South Commission has been trying for months without any success to agree on proposals for trade, debt, and technology. The other is the Geneva trade conference where the South anticipates more openness to their proposals for price agreements on twenty products of special importance to them. The new U.S. negotiators may prefer the road of price agreements, that of more aid, freer entry to

threaten the very existence of these corporations.

We have only begun to probe the problems raised earlier. We have said nothing about the role of women in the development process. We have not asked whether gains from international price agreements would bring any benefit to the poor farmers of the Third World, and not rather only result in fortifying a brand of capitalism which permits very little of the benefits of development to trickle down to the poor. One might question whether trade does not simply divert local resources from a true, more self-reliant development, one in which improved farming, rural development, and use of simpler technology would be priorities. These do not require vast earnings from trading away a nation's scarce resources in order to earn a type of development that may be inimical to the needs and aspirations of the masses.

These are more than enough questions for another bicentennial hearing. What is clear is that we cannot await our nation's Tricentennial to explore and resolve them.

H. Christian Perspectives on NIEO

1. A Recall to the Servant Church

In our chapter on the church of Detroit much attention was devoted to the model of Servant Church. We need not repeat what was said there on the mission of the church to serve the world because the doing of justice and the transformation of world structures are inseparable from preaching the Gospel. Here we simply point out the relevance of Servant Church to the world beyond our U.S. shores.

That church has drawn from the gospels and its own understanding of the human, certain principles which ought to motivate and be capable of motivating our service to world justice. These are all familiar and are simply recalled here.

2. Solidarity

This traditional theme received its most recent formulation in the 1971 Synod's striking statement that we are born citizens of the world community before becoming citizens of any particular nation. The bishops affirm "the unity of the human family within which, according to God's plan, a human being is first

born...."

3. Solidarity in Sharing Resources

The classical statement of this principle was made by Pius XI in 1941. Pius was addressing himself to the church's doctrine on private property. In doing so he endorses the subtle shift in emphasis from private possession to social obligation. "The right of every man to use material goods is prior to all other rights in economic life and hence prior to even the right of private ownership...." He adds, "The goods of the earth were destined by the Creator for the use of all men." One further implication of this right of every person to use the world's resources is drawn by Pope Paul in this address to the World Food Conference, 1974. He states that, "Every person must have the right to enough food to live...."

4. Right of All to Development

Human solidarity in its global outreach must respond to the right of every person to an integral human development. The world community "must... guarantee the common right of peoples to their integral human development." (Paul VI, address to the ILO, 1969. See also the Synod of 1971.)

5. Common Stewardship

The main theme of this chapter has been our interdependence and, therefore, the necessity of doing what in fact God calls us to, that is, to share our "commons" of land, water, air, and space. We call them resources but we must look on them as God's gifts: gifts that we celebrate by offering them back to their Creator. Then a new relationship is discovered of our common stewardship over God's bounty, over the Lord's gifts. This stewardship we exercise by sharing, caring, sparing. And here we rejoin the Detroit conference, for it had much to say about sharing and sparing, if less precisely about caring.

Caring calls us to live in loving symbiosis with nature, in loving use of world resources, in temperate consumption of them, in avoidance of the devastation of the world's surface or pollution of its waters and atmosphere.

Detroit also insists repeatedly on the call to a style of life that reflects Christian sobriety even while it makes available for the needy of the world a fairer sharing of the world's resources. We are our brother's and sister's keeper, says Detroit. What is ours is theirs to be shared in Christian and human solidarity.

Women in Church and Society



The world of women—a risk area not part of the original agenda.

I. INTRODUCTION

A. The Setting at Detroit

The presence and active involvement of many women at Detroit made A Call to Action different from the usual deliberative bodies of the Catholic Church. Over one-third of the delegates were women. A woman shared with a priest the task of chairing the plenary assembly. Women assumed equal rights of speaking and voting. Women served indiscriminately with men as chairpersons of section meetings and working committees. Moreover, in the two-year Liberty and Justice for All process, women made a strong contribution to the parish consultations and the hearings. In a special way, religious women invested their energies. In the words of Frank Butler, who bore overall task responsibility for the Bicentennial undertaking, "religious women of the country made the program go."

If women played a prominent role in the business at Detroit, they were dramatically cut off from center stage at the time of community celebration, the liturgy. Only the breadth and humanness of Bishop Joseph Francis' homily kept many women from feeling oppressed as an all-male hierarchy concelebrated. Women's only role was to come forward to read the lesson and minister the Eucharist. A powerful negative symbol rang through the assembly when at the Kiss of Peace, all were invited to express their "brotherhood!"

Interestingly, the plenary business session for many women became a fuller experience of the presence of Christ than the elaborate liturgy. The compassion and healing concern of Jesus seemed alive in the delegates' voice as it thundered approval of better pastoral care for the divorced, full human rights for the homosexual, positive orientations toward the priesthood for women and married men.

B. The Process

Although the seed idea for the Liberty and Justice program came from a woman's conversation with a bishop (HR, Hkd, p. 35) and women make up one-half the human family, the official Bicentennial Conference Subcommittee consisted of only four women in a group of twenty-eight. In its original planning the topic of "Woman" was not treated as a separate category. The Discussion Guide had no essay on women. No woman

authored a major piece, only co-authored essays on Family, Native Americans, and helped formulate the Discussion Questions. It was out of these questions proposed for parish use and out of the essay on Personhood that the topic surfaced. A key question proposed:

Throughout the United States the "women's issue" has become a major concern for many. That issue has also surfaced a dominant development within the Church.

- What has been the role of women in the Church in America?
- What should her role be?
- How do the Church's traditions regarding women help them to grow as persons? hinder their growth as persons?
- Is the Church presently doing enough to ensure women's growth as persons? If yes, what? If no, what should it do? (Guide, p. 12)

The essay on Personhood carries the perceptive remark that whereas "the vocation to be a human being does not run counter to the social identity of the male," in woman it is often "shaped solely by her role as child-bearer and homemaker." (Guide, p. 54; Pers III, 1) As a professional, the author states that women's ability is often regarded as a threat rather than a contribution. The destructive consequence is that "the inequality of women means the inequality of men as well." (Guide, p. 55)

In the Hearings the concerns of women began to emerge and were strongly articulated mainly by women. The first Hearings in Washington, DC, demonstrated that the "world of women" was one of those "risk areas" which Cardinal Dearden described as "places we did not expect to visit." The range of concerns proved to be very wide:

1. The role of women in society is central to the change needed in the structure of power. (HR, Hkd, p. 31)
2. God will not fully be imaged and represented until he is so by both women and men. (HR, The Land, p. 86)
3. Increasingly women no longer feel at home in the church. Can the age-old treatment of women as purely relational be relinquished in the church? (HR, Hkd, p. 92)

4. The church's attitude toward women is a justice issue: silence about, exclusion of, the oppressed is a classic form of injustice. (Ibid., p. 102)

5. The double standard in the church's treatment of males and females must cease. (Ibid., p. 104)

6. Patriarchy is out of date because its continuation rests on the established subjugation of women. (Ibid., p. 32)

7. Women and men alike have learned to accord precedence to men because the language reinforces this primacy. Language follows structure. Women are not included in the concept mankind. (Ibid.)

8. The Equal Rights Amendment should be endorsed to correct the injustice of women being treated as less than adults, less than responsible citizens. (Ibid., p. 97)

9. Black women are the most disadvantaged group in American society. (HR, Fam, p. 6)

10. If the Roman Catholic Church could take some leadership regarding women's issues, then what it says about abortion would make a real difference in this society. (HR, The Land, p. 89)

Meanwhile, in the parishes similar concerns were being voiced, so that when the computerized testimony was analyzed, the Writing Committee concluded that: "The most important obstacle to community revealed in the parish consultations, at least as measured by the numbers of people who raised the issue, is the role of women in the Church. Thousands of participants indicated that they felt that women have been denied a fair and equal share in the life of the Church, particularly in ministry and in decision-making." (Ch, Summary, p. 8)

The result of all this testimony and evidence of concern was that the role of woman in church and society was treated in almost every section, and within the Church section, a separate working committee studied "women in the church."

C. Realities Behind the Process

That so dramatic a shift took place in the attention afforded women is a tribute to the openness of the Bicentennial process. That a shift was necessary, however, raises serious questions: Why was "woman" not originally a category in June 1974? Why did it become

one by October 1976?

Two things can be said to the first question:

The all-male officialdom of the church was only slightly or negatively impacted by the women's movement taking place in the larger society around it. Churchmen were unaware of the extent and depth of the growing alienation of women from the church, and so did not perceive "woman" as an issue. A large group of the women who were dominant in official church organizations were themselves insulated from or unconscious of the oppression of women as a whole. Many felt hostile to the movement. Both groups saw the movement as not a concern of the church.

When we approach the question of why the topic of women emerged, we must consider that:

1. A growing number of Catholic women had begun the process of consciousness-raising, as part of secular movements like NOW, WEAL, etc.
2. Women religious were reflecting upon their negative experiences from church officialdom in their struggle to achieve a viable apostolic lifestyle.
3. A burgeoning number of women, lay and religious together, were beginning to organize in search of ways to address the church about their need for liberation within church and society.

II. CHRISTIAN ROOTS OF WOMEN'S LIBERATION

In the eyes of many women, the church is an arch-enemy of women's liberation. In the eyes of many church people, the women's liberation movement is the work of the devil. Yet increasing numbers of loyal Catholic women are insisting that structures in church and society are, because of their failure to accept women in full equality with men, unjust; that therefore a women's liberation movement is necessary.

A. Theological Sources

This conclusion springs from eminently Christian roots: the roots of God's Word, the example of Jesus, and the philosophical and theological teachings of Vatican II and subsequent papal documents. God's design according to Genesis is that woman like man is a fully human being, sharing in the reality of being and the potential of growing in the image and likeness of God. God is projected (so far as our human limitedness allows) in terms of freedom, creativity, intellect, love and dominion. Women as well as men pay homage to that God by developing these same gifts within themselves.

Yet, through most periods of human history, woman has not been encouraged to self-development toward a true imaging of God. Her intellectual power has been denied and neglected, her creativity limited to procreation, her right to rule truncated, her freedom tragically denied, and only in love has she been recognized as gifted—and all too often this gift has been acknowledged in order to manipulate or abuse her. Into a world which significantly rejected women's authentic being and potential, Jesus brought a re-affirmation of woman as believer, as disciple and trusted apostle.

B. Personalism

In recent decades, particularly through the influence of the Second Vatican Council, personalism has largely replaced the dualism which influenced much of patristic and medieval down-grading of woman. Today woman is recognized as a person, spirit and flesh like man, autonomous yet called to relationships. Because of a sacred independence she, like man, is responsible before God for her choices and acts. This responsibility can only be met by a mature person. Pope Paul in *Progress of Peoples* taught that we are as responsible for our development as we are for our salvation. For such development there can be no neat division between moral values appropriate to man and those appropriate to woman, nor can the God-given potential for freedom and responsibility, creativity, cultivation of nature, and love be separated off and developed or curtailed according to sex.

To exercise the responsibilities of personhood one must be free. However, long-existent structures in society and church have constrained woman's freedom of thought, of movement, of expression and of leadership. While interior freedom was always possible for strong, God-oriented women (as it had been for slaves), very little in the environment encouraged this development.

C. Social History

Women, isolated since industrialization from the public arena, have been confined to the private sphere, to family and home or a religious life built on a model of isolation. The consequences of this separation, public and private, have hurt all of society. Attitudes, now buried deep in the unconscious, of arrogant yet fearful superiority in many men and self-mistrust and inferiority in many women have been engendered. At the same time the public sphere has grown in power and influence and has encroached mercilessly upon the private sphere. Family and neighborhood life are disintegrating today under the weight of unfair burdens placed upon them. In response to this latter situation,

church leaders are telling women that "today their role is of capital importance, both for the renewal and humanization of society and for the rediscovery by believers of the true face of the church." (Declaration on the Question of the Admission of Women to the Ministerial Priesthood) Yet women know that traditional women's roles alone, legitimated by many centuries of male superiority, will not enable women to meet the recognized need.

III. CATHOLIC WOMEN AND LIBERATION

A. Women Religious

Women religious came to a realization of the need for change out of their own experience in deepening their spiritual roots and adapting to the demands of an apostolic vocation in contemporary times. The Sister Formation Movement begun in the mid-fifties aimed at upgrading educational standards and deepening the spirituality of sisters and their awareness of the needs of the world. As it progressed, it had the unplanned result of raising sisters' consciousness to their own situation in the church. The costly efforts made in humanizing sisters' lives and promoting personal and professional development, met with resistance and obstruction from many pastors and bishops. The double standard between men and women in assessing human and educational needs became clear.

When women's congregations undertook the more serious work of renewal and adaptation mandated after the Second Vatican Council, they faced almost total misunderstanding from bishops, clergy, and laity. It became clear in the struggle over the symbolically important religious garb that what was at stake was the determination of churchmen to maintain the past and control the present. These women in obedience to Vatican directives had painstakingly studied "the sources of all Christian life" and "the original inspiration of their communities" and had provided "an adjustment of the community to the changed conditions of the times." (Decree on the Appropriate/Renewal of Religious Life) They had emerged with a vibrant sense of themselves as Christian persons and as church, only to find their new consciousness confronted with prohibitions from the Vatican and from bishops in the United States. The ensuing struggle with the institutional church helped these women who remained in religious life to mature in faith, courage, solidarity, and in consciousness of women's problems not only in the church but in all of society.

B. Women Religious and Lay Women

As women religious emerged from cloister and sought solidarity with lay women, they met an unexpected rebuff. While feeling oppressed themselves, they found that in the eyes of the laity they were identified as a part of the privileged establishment. They seemed to flaunt their new-found personal freedom, to be demanding of time and services from the laity, and to lack the humility to form truly sisterly bonds. Lay women resented the job security of religious women, their unfair economic advantage in being able to live on lower salaries, and the abandonment of the schools by many of them. Today these two groups are healing their divisions by patient dialogue, desire for mutual understanding, and an appreciation of their common goals of women's liberation which many Catholic lay women had already embraced.

IV. SOCIETAL ROOTS OF WOMEN'S LIBERATION

Four developments in recent times have greatly contributed to the heightened awareness among women to injustice. They are: 1) technological development and life style; 2) economic insecurity; 3) familial tensions; and 4) social conscience. These factors in a special way have fueled the women's movement.

A. Technological Development and Life Style

Industrialization and technological development have profoundly altered the daily life of men and women by separating almost all work-for-pay activity out of the home. Scientific knowledge has lengthened people's life span and massively changed their circumstances. For women, as technical control of reproduction became possible and for many seemed necessary or desirable, it has meant fewer years spent in bearing and rearing children. Many women find themselves at age 30 with their children in school, and time on their hands. Suburban living, the lot of great numbers of women, has become a very isolating experience, especially for young women. Often they are alone much of the day, or alone with children. Part-time work is one way many of these women move into a more satisfying and adult world. Here they face head-on the discriminations rampant in society.

B. Economic Insecurity

Slowly and persistently for economic reasons, many married women are moving into the work force. In the past a worker's wage was commonly a family wage. The income from one worker was adequate to provide most families with decent housing, enough food, health insurance, and some money for extras. Today the average income for a white male earner in the U.S. is \$12,000

a year. The average black male earns \$8,500. The Bureau of Labor statistics say that as of December 1975, it took a salary of \$15,318 for a hypothetical family of four, to live at an intermediate standard of living. Thus, families are forced to reconsider the idea that a woman should not work outside the home. For families where the husband/father earns less than \$12,000, there is little choice: women must join the work force. Almost immediately when they do, women become aware of economic injustices toward them.

C. Marital Instability

Economic insecurity, societal pressures and personal immaturity have provoked growing family tensions and a rising divorce rate. Almost half as many couples were divorced as were married in 1975; in 1970 for every 10.6 persons married, 3.5 were divorced. In cases of divorce women generally receive custody of the children. Alimony and child support payments, often inadequate to begin with, have a notoriously high rate of default. Only 44% of divorced mothers are awarded child support and less than half are able to collect this money regularly. (Report of the National Commission on the Observance of IWCY, 1976) Often the support payments barely cover food costs. Although society tells women that their homemaking and child rearing are vital, when economic support to continue them is needed, it is denied. These women are often forced to work outside the home, in spite of no adequate child-care facilities. Their other option is to sink even lower into poverty and dependence on welfare payments. Their consciousness of the injustice of the legal system grows.

D. Social Conscience

Many women, aware of the adverse impact which political, economic, and social practices were having on personal worth and moral values, wanted to have a voice in the public arena. They have learned (sometimes painfully), that in order to protect their families, they must enter into public decision-making whether it be on the school board, the city council, or the state legislature as it distributed funds. The major barrier they found was often their sex. Because they were women, their insights and knowledge were dismissed; they were not allowed a voice in the public forum; they were effectively blocked from doing what needed to be done.

E. Impact on Consciousness

Experience in the work force and injustice in the courts have been significant in raising women's consciousness to sexism and in generating support for the ERA. Women came up against sexist barriers in pay rates, promotion, work place organization and attitudes of bosses. Women for whom income was crucial began to fight for change. They found that some protective legislation, restrictions on overtime, time of work or type of job, were in fact more harmful to them and their families than the evils the legislation was protecting them from.

Meanwhile, consciousness-raising groups enabled women to realize that the problems in their lives were not unique nor merely personal. This leap of consciousness has enabled thousands of women to look at themselves and one another with appreciative eyes, to rejoice in God's image and gifts as shown forth in female humankind. (It is such leaps in consciousness as with blacks and formerly colonized peoples that mark the true progress of the human race, for these are at the root of human dignity and capacity to grow.) The problems they discovered were, in addition to being their own, also embodied in structures outside of them. Whether in the work place, law courts, church, or society at large, a similar conflux of unjust perceptions and attitudes was at work: sexism.

Once women came to see sexism in one facet of life, they grew sensitive to it in all areas. Thus, the women's movement has examined and challenged every aspect of societal life. It has offered ample evidence of the injustices women face and the pain and frustration these injustices have caused. And it is not women alone who suffer but their families and society as a whole. Because of the pervasiveness of sexism and the harm it creates, women from many stations in society are coming together. They do not always agree on what has to change, but they do share the vision of a fairer world and they are willing to work for it.

They wish to correct the imbalance of public/private spheres, to allow roles to develop out of individual talents and personal choice in order to satisfy the needs of family and society, rather than being assigned by reason of sex. The virtues and skills generally ascribed to women, if inserted into the public arena, would effect a change in the priorities and procedures, with the result that community (including the integrity of the family and respect for personhood) might really be achieved.

V. HOPE AMIDST DIFFICULTIES

A. A Counter Voice

The women's liberation movement has the support of many, but notably absent are large blocs of Catholic women. A substantial number oppose the movement. Many of these women believe that women's primary

function is that of mother, wife, and homemaker and that these roles are somehow determined in God's plan. They draw support from and in turn support traditional roles. They quietly serve, nurture and support others, and obey those in authority, especially churchmen. The paths of spiritual development upon which they have relied seem to be satisfactory.

Many of this group have neither felt the economic burdens of the structural changes of the last twenty years nor been challenged in their basic ideas by other experiences. They see the women's movement, not as a response to societal pressures, but rather as a disturber of societal peace and order. They also fear that the movement will destroy protections, legal and social, they believe all women need. Very often, these women do not know the social history that formed so many of these protections. Unlike many of their sisters, they do not realize how frail the grid of protection is. The interactions and mutual support between these women and churchmen who also believe that women's role is limited to home and service, tend to reinforce both in their attitudes and stands.

B. Racism and Poverty

Some rather large segments of minority women, black and Hispanic, have regarded the injustices due to race and ethnicity as more serious for them than those related to sex. Until recently many have felt that the women's movement was a white, middle-class concern. This perception is changing somewhat as women sharing experiences, come to appreciate both the different problems they face and their common interests. The fact remains, however, that racism is a serious matter for the women's movement. For example, in the 1920's racist attitudes were exploited in the campaign for women's suffrage. Some women, black and white, sensitive to the potential mutual exploitation, are seeking strategies to prevent it.

Another barrier to a comprehensive women's move-

D. Which Direction?

Like so many other movements, the women's liberation movement is not a monolith—there is not one goal, one set of priorities, nor one philosophy. Many who are strongly committed to justice for women question the thrust of one or another facet of the movement. They readily admit that some of its spokeswomen have advocated selfish, narrow goals. They decry the fact that the effort to defend the rights of women has in some cases led to the denial of rights of others—the unborn for example.

Others are uncomfortable with, even opposed to, those who in affirming women's right to work outside the home diminish the value of homemaking and child rearing. They realize how hurtful this has been to women who have chosen the career of homemaker, in effect telling these women their lives have been valueless.

The women's movement is at a critical juncture. It has met with some successes and must now carefully examine where it is going. Is its major thrust simply that of having women do what men do or is its challenge to have each one grow as person and change society by reinserting into public life new values of caring, nurturing, mediating, cooperating, sharing and openness to human differences? If the goal is the former, opponents of the movement are right in questioning its claim to create a more just world. If the goal is the latter, however, the promise of a more human society is bright.

VI. DETROIT AND THE FUTURE

A. Women in Society

The delegates at Detroit addressed in many forums the concerns of women both in society and in the church. In many ways they called attention to the fact that women have been special victims of discrimination in employment and income. Four times the conference voted support of the ERA and they regarded ratification

heavy burden on the women who most often head them.

Also the delegates strongly urged that alternatives to abortion be provided and that the country work to eliminate the causes of abortion. (Nat II, 2)

Women who work outside the home have been struggling for a long time to create more equitable conditions at the work place. They have been working with others to make real a variety of work patterns so that the needs of women, families, communities and businesses might be better served. This agenda includes part-time work, flexible hours, child care facilities, job training and education, and fringe benefits that respond to women's needs. In a recent decision, the Supreme Court said that employer medical insurance plans, excluding pregnancy yet covering other elective medical procedures, e.g., hair transplants, were not discriminatory on the basis of sex. In this ruling, the Court refused to change male-designed structures which have been harmful to women and the whole society. It has reinforced the idea that women do not belong in the work place if they want family life, and it encourages abortions. How will the Catholic community respond to a case like this? The Detroit recommendations seem to give one suggestion—join in the struggle!

B. Women in the Church

Because "Traditional church life and practice have especially limited the freedom of women in the Church" (Ch II, Intro), Detroit called upon the church and church-related institutions "to eliminate every form of discrimination on the basis of . . . sex. . . ." (Ch I, 4) To insure that "all women have equal access to and full participation in roles of leadership, service and authority in the life of the church." (Ch II, 6) The recommendations call for: a) an effectively staffed structure within the NCCB/USCC (after consultation with representative women); b) an affirmative action plan for leadership and consultation in all dioceses and parishes; and c) women's equal access with men to theological and pastoral training. (Ch II, 1,3)

Detroit expressed the need for NCCB and Catholic publishing houses "to insure that sexist language and imagery be eliminated from all official church documents, catechisms, liturgical books, rites, and hymnals printed after January 1978." (Ch II, 4) All church law ought to eliminate sexual discrimination, as should prescriptions governing liturgical practices.

The delegates to Detroit were conscious of the church also as an employer. They called upon the church in all its ramifications to implement affirmative action plans to provide full economic justice to women as well as to minorities and immigrants. (Wk I, 2)

The conference called upon its bishops to initiate dialogue with Rome "to change the present discipline . . . to allow women to be ordained to the diaconate and priesthood." (Ch I, 10) Priesthood, in the eyes of the delegates, "is a special relationship of love . . . its essence is not a role, functions, series of actions or stereo-typed expectations." (Ch I, 7)

The delegates further entrusted to bishops of the United States the charge to "offer leadership in justice to the universal church" by promoting a broad, open consultation of theologians, scholars, lay and religious women on the ordination of women to sacred orders, asking for a planned process and time line by November 1977. (Ch II, 2)

These calls of Detroit to the official bodies of the church to honor the personhood and capacities of women received a severe jolt in the recent publication by the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith of a declaration denying priestly ordination to women. This response indicates that all public "official" roles of teaching, preaching, sacramental order, and authority are denied women. Serious as this setback is to women who feel called to some ministry, its worst implications fall upon all women. For the theological reflection which seeks to justify the above conclusion asserts that it is maleness (not humanity) in Jesus which is the important element in his life on earth and in his resurrected life. Hence all sacramental imaging of Christ must be done by a male. The argument strikes at the heart of spiritual motivation and even self-worth of women.

If the bishops wish to avoid an irreparable alienation of women from the church, they will be advised to take seriously the recommendations of A Call to Action, that they promote a broad and representative multidisciplinary consultation of women and men on the subject of the ordination of women to the priesthood with special reference to the arguments of the Declaration, and then that they take leadership in promoting the results of that consultation before the Vatican (Ch II, 2) by proposing a similar review at the Synod of 1980.

The women's liberation movement and the self-understanding which women in the church have acquired through experience, reflection, Biblical study, and prayer have come together to effect a new moral consciousness in women—and in many men—as was evident at Detroit. That consciousness has the potential to become a profound human resource. Women alone, however, cannot determine whether or not this will be so. Will the breath of the Spirit break through to make a reality of God's revelation that "in Christ there is neither male nor female"? (Gal. 3:27)



The vocation to be a human being is often shaped solely, for a woman, by her role as child-bearer.

ment is the failure of many women's rights advocates to comprehend the world of poor women. Many middle-class women do not realize, much less understand, the constraints that limit poor women. Among the latter, minimal skills, few resources, and bitter experiences contribute to their deep lack of confidence in themselves. Nor do the advocates understand the values these women hold, the importance to them of family, children, and of traditional roles. Some within the movement, however, display a genuine sense of sisterhood and facilitate poor women in their effort to gain control of their lives.

C. International Perspective

The women's movement in this country has just barely a sense of the global. Despite International Women's Year (IWY) and Decade (IWD), it is difficult to generate interest in international issues, e.g., the way U. S. policies and practices affect the lives of people, especially women, in the poor countries; the need for changes in U. S. trade policies to promote Third World development. U. S. women also fail to see the links between their own concerns and those of women in other parts of the world. Women in the movement all too often seem unaware of the worldwide thrust of which they are a part, and are unable to draw upon all the richness and resources available. The 56 state and territorial conferences to be held before August 1977, and the November 1977 National Conference on the Status of Women which will be held in Houston, will provide some opportunities to put U. S. women in touch with a wider world.

of it "a major step toward achieving equal economic justice for men and women." (Wk I, 1) In specifying that church agencies should "support efforts to inform women of their legal rights within the family, the work force and the community in general," (Pers II, 4) they also called attention to the reality that women are often unable to exercise their rights because they do not know them. In this context, those at Detroit called upon the USCC to ask bishops to establish in their dioceses plans to support legislation and provide legal counsel which will procure equal opportunity for economic development and justice to women and other powerless groups in both the public and private spheres, especially in institutions like unions.

Repeatedly, in parish consultations, hearings and recommendations, the participants cited the problems of the family, the source of both growth and oppression for most women. The delegates, for example, asked for serious study on the causes of marital breakdown with particular attention to the impact of cultural conditions on marriage and family life. (Fam III, 4) Such a study, if undertaken, would probably disclose a relationship between the limitations imposed on women when they are restricted in their roles and the problems faced by families and society at large. It might also point to alternative patterns of life that enhance the development of women and men while strengthening the family and other communities that support personhood.

The delegates noted some situations that are particularly difficult for women. The increase in single-parent families, for example, has placed an exceptionally

Education for Justice



An education that liberates people to be "architects of their own destiny."

I. INTRODUCTION

In the late 1960s, churches in Africa and Asia, especially in preparation for the Synod of 1971, reported their concerns over the failures of traditional-style education to adequately equip their people for the realities of their lives. In particular, the bishops of Latin America, in their second continent-wide episcopal conference, held in Medellin, Colombia, in 1968, highlighted the inadequacies of the past educational methods and content and gave classic, almost definitive, utterance to a new direction. The Synod of 1971, in its short chapter on education for justice, did nothing more than pull out sections from the Medellin statement.

II. MEDELLIN'S EDUCATION FOR LIBERATION

The Medellin documents rejected a traditional education which consisted in transmitting wisdom out of the head of the educator into that of the educatee (if this word doesn't exist, let it stand for our discussion). It rejected the supposition that wisdom was from the past and mainly about that past, or about God's future Kingdom, while ignoring the very real present. The result was that the educatee walked unknowingly and unreflectingly through her or his daily life.

Two paragraphs will serve to give a flavor of the riches of Medellin's long chapter on education.

It seems to us that the programmed content of our educational systems is much too abstract and formalistic . . . more concerned with the transmission of knowledge than with the creation, among other values, of a critical spirit . . .

And on the social consequences of this education, they say:

. . . the educational systems (in Latin America) are much more oriented towards maintaining social structures and economic rule than toward transformation. They are passive. . . They tend to sustain the economy based on the greed "to have more" rather than "to be more. . ."

Medellin's voice calls for an education that liberates people to be "architects of their own destiny," that permits a "freeing of the critical faculty," and prepares people to devise alternatives to existing social and political disorders, to develop a "creative imagination."

III. 1971 SYNOD OF BISHOPS

Medellin's influence spread far beyond Latin America. Its most important influence was on the two hundred and more bishops who in 1971 provided a statement on education that itself was destined to strengthen the growing world consensus about education. The ten most important points of a liberating education are:

1. It must teach people to "live lives in their entire reality";
2. "and in accord with evangelical principles of personal and social morality";
3. this morality is to be "expressed in vital Christian witness of one's daily life";
4. this "demands a renewal of heart";
5. this renewal will be based on "recognition of sin in its individual and social manifestations";

6. it will "awaken a critical sense which will lead us to reflect on the society in which we live and its values";

7. it will "make us ready to renounce these values when they cease to promote justice for all. . .";

8. "in developing countries the principal aim of this education for justice consists in . . . awakening peoples' consciousness and consciences to . . . their concrete situation. . .";

9. "it will help them to be no longer objects of manipulation, . . . [but enable] them to take into their own hands their own destinies, and bring about communities that are truly human";

10. such education "is a continuing one for it concerns every person and age." It is also "practical"; "it comes through action, participation and vital contact with the reality of injustice."

IV. NOW DETROIT

Detroit's document *Humankind* is, as we indicated, solidly in line with Vatican II, Medellin, and the 1971 Synod. To demonstrate this continuity we can usefully group all the points of analysis around three questions: Why educate? What is education and how is it done? Who does the educating?

A. Why Educate?

The over-arching purpose of education according to the recommendations of Detroit is the formation of the human person so that he/she might attain the fullness of vocation. This has its "vertical" dimension. We are made for the ultimate possession and vision of the Triune God. Accordingly, this calls for a Christian education that opens up all the dimensions of our life in God.

But in keeping with the model of church as community and servant, the educational thrust of the Detroit documents is located equally within our total vocation which includes the doing of works of justice and peace. *Humankind's* first recommendation entitled "Education for Global Justice," insists that "to accept the mandate toward justice means that we must be educated for justice." (Hkd I, Intro) The second recommendation of *Family* calls for help for Catholic families "to participate in the redemption and transformation of society through an awareness of the constitutive gospel dimension of action on behalf of justice." (Fam II, Intro)

Speaking generally about the purpose of education, it can be said that, if academicians including Catholics believe in value-free education, the Detroit delegates do not. When they endorse Catholic universities and colleges, they do so in a statement that clearly shows that they want these schools to be value-oriented and directed toward specific goals: ". . . we recommend support for Catholic institutions of higher education which demonstrate a commitment to the church's teaching on social justice." (Ch III, 8) *Nationhood's* equivalent call is that "all students may enjoy meaningful work and life styles." (Hkd II, 11) Models of education are sought which "enable families to open themselves to injustice in the world." (Fam II, 2) *Neighborhood* urges that "human values . . . be guiding." (Ngh II, 6)

B. What Is Education And How Is It Done?

Virtually every point on education made at the Synod is in the Detroit documents.

1. *Renewal of Heart*: this calls for an option "with Christ on the side of the poor. . ." (Hkd I, Intro);

2. *Discernment of What Justice Calls For*: this is to be made in full understanding of the complex reality of the situation. In *Nationhood* and *Humankind* there is brief—all too brief—reference to the need of understanding the systemic nature of injustice. *Humankind* urges a "constant process of experience, prayerful reflection, informed analysis. . ." (Ibid.)

3. *Critical Sense*: "Christian discernment" may lead us "to critically reject certain values and structures of our national and world societies." (Ibid.)

4. *Search for a Better Society*: "Education for justice dares to challenge Christian thinking . . . to take seriously 'the rebirth of utopias' [Pope Paul VI's *Call to Action*] in its search for a vision of a more just and peaceful world beyond the present forms of either capitalism or socialism." (Ibid.) This recommendation caused consternation in some sectors of the Catholic press which professed to find here an attack on the capitalist system. In fact, questions about capitalism can be found in the writings of Pope Pius XI, Pope Pius XII, Pope John XXIII, Vatican Council, Synod of 1971, and finally Pope Paul VI's *Progress of Peoples* and his *Call to Action*. The recommendation continues by quoting the same Pope's questioning all existing economic systems that do not lead to a greater sharing with the poor of the world's resources. "There dwells within man a power which urges him to go beyond every system and every ideology." (Ibid.)

Above we have seen that the Detroit assembly sup-

ports Catholic colleges and universities provided their education "demonstrates a commitment to the church's teaching on social justice." (Ch III, 8) Yet another request is made of scholars, that they especially contribute to the critical review of our economic system as called for. The NCCB should "invite all scholars to participate in the ministry of justice and peace by collaborative research into questions of global justice, including the relation of Catholic and other (e.g., socialist, Gandhian) traditions to contemporary situations." (Hkd I, 7)

C. Who Does The Educating?

Two main points were made on this score by Medellin. First, people being educated are not just objects of education but subjects. They in part educate themselves. They also help educate their professional educators. (One thinks of Mao sending professionals to the villages to learn from the people.) There is no hint of this latter point in the Detroit documents. But the active role of those being educated is amply supported in the call that education for justice be practical and be conducted in "the constant process of experience." (Hkd I, Intro)

The second main point about who does the educating is that the community shares in the enterprise. In Church we find the following: "the entire community . . . bears responsibility for the Church's educational apostolate." (Ch III, 3) This includes "programs of evaluation of the effectiveness, cost, and possible alternatives to present educational programs." (Ibid.) Also as citizens, Catholics should "participate in policy-making bodies which govern public schools and share their experience and tradition in education." (Ch III, 5-d)

If education in its purpose, method and content is an affair of the community, it is likewise to be community-oriented. The section on education in Church insists that parish schools must have an outreach to the neighborhood. (Ch III, 2-c; 4-b) "Parish churches and other Catholic institutions recognize themselves to be part of the neighborhood." (Ngh, II, Intro) These same institutions, "will develop instruments through which people can determine their needs and improve the quality of their lives." (Ibid.) Other roles for a "communitarian and participatory" education are mentioned in the same document. (Ngh III, 3 a-d) Even the decision to close schools should be made in consultation with the community. (Ngh III, 4)

There are diocesan "faith resources" which those at Detroit also invite to join in this educational enterprise.

1. *Schools*. Although stated quite briefly, support for Catholic schools is generally strong "where needed and desired." (Ch III, 4-a) They should receive financial support. This includes working for reform of tax laws, even to seeking an amendment to the Constitution to make this possible if need be. (Ch III, 4 c-e) In recognition of the fact that 77% of Catholics are in public schools (but by reason also of the communitarian nature of all education), Catholics as citizens are asked to bear their share of responsibility for public schools. (Ch III, 5 a-d)

2. *Office of Justice and Peace*. Another educational resource in the Catholic community that receives much attention is the USCC's Justice and Peace office. Diocesan Justice and Peace offices, to be established by the bishops, should be serviced by the National Office, which would provide guidelines and be a vehicle of communication and link diocesan offices with other Justice and Peace movements. It should also set up a United Nations office in New York, collaborate ecumenically on peace and justice issues, and search for new models of justice education.

3. *Intentional Communities*. A third educating resource within the Catholic community is the small "intentional" communities (free movements such as the Catholic Worker) and other grassroots, often ecumenical, groups. These should be recognized by church authorities and promoted "in their work of education and formation for justice." The passage adds that they are effective "for evangelization, conscientization, first-line outreach to orphan, widow, stranger, refugees, homeless," and finally, as "instruments of creative social and political action." (Hkd I, 11)

4. *Mass Media*. The educative role of the mass media is not overlooked. This too enters into the enterprise as a great instrument. The Faith community must play a responsible role in monitoring programs for their impact on the family (Fam II, 4) for response to societal conditions and to "global justice." (Hkd I, 10) Effort must be made to counteract the media when they promote dehumanizing values, consumerism, and materialism. (Fam II, 4; Nat III, 3-a)

5. *Mission*. In this educational process toward justice, especially global justice, the community should draw on people of the Third World to help them understand how

the world's poor and powerless view the remaining forms of economic and political domination. Returned missionaries can serve in the same capacity as conscientizers. (Hkd 9)

6. Continuing Education. Both Medellin and the 1971 Synod emphasized adult education. The parish consultations preparatory to Detroit give as their second highest action priority (33,000) "to provide continuing religious educational opportunity for all adults." Church calls for "adult formation." (Ch III, 1) Church and Neighborhood insist on opportunities for the clergy to have ongoing educational renewal. (Ch I, 5; III, 7; Ngh III, 3-d) Toward this end Humankind adds the proposal

that each diocese organize workshops to help priests understand the church's commitment to global justice. (Hkd I, 8-b)

7. Programming and Research. Education in the Detroit document is linked to dialogue, research and institutional planning with input from every level of the church. This has already been treated in the chapter on social analysis.

V. A WORD OF CONCLUSION

Our review of Detroit's treatment of education reveals its close linkage with a consensus about education that has grown apace in the Catholic world since the

days of the Second Vatican Council. The essential features, as we have seen, are: (1) that education is FOR and IN life; (2) that it cannot be mere transmission of the wisdom of the past, important though that be; (3) that education is achieved in great measure by the educatee herself or himself within community; (4) that it must confront change, accelerating change with analysis and understanding; (5) that it is a community enterprise, including goal-setting, and critical reflection on the society's values and structures; and (6) that ultimately the core of education is change of heart, but a metanoia that embraces the task of changing the structures of injustice. Education in a word is a "ministry of justice and peace." (Hkd I, 7)

Church and Labor

I. INTRODUCTION

If prizes were given for the number of responses to the various themes of the conference, Work would have been the loser. Work received the least number of responses from parish consultations (66.5 thousand), with Ethnicity/Race not far behind (66.9 thousand responses). Then, at the national Hearing on Work in Sacramento in October 1975, very few church activists spoke to traditional labor concerns. Next, the program's writing team (it is reported) had to draw heavily on the church's past repository of teaching and action in this area, since so much regarding labor was not brought out in the process. Finally, in the conference itself, Work did not seem to be one of the high priority areas.

The group which worked on that theme contrasted dramatically with the earlier generation of labor-oriented church activists. Indeed, if by some magic time machine, we could have transported the church's leading social activists from the 1930s across four decades of history into the Bicentennial process, they might have been shocked to see how little the contemporary church reflects the concerns of mainstream U.S. labor.

II. ALIENATION OF CHURCH AND LABOR?

There are, of course, several logical and understandable explanations for this changed situation. In the 1950s and 1960s, organized labor seemed to have achieved its basic objectives and consolidated itself as an established force in U.S. politics. In a position of strength, U.S. labor did not need church allies, as had been the case in earlier decades of weakness. Further, church activists for the same reasons were not concerned with the consolidated labor movement. Some did remain within the overall labor thrust, but focused on the unorganized and marginal sectors of the population—blacks, Hispanics, Appalachian whites, women, etc. At times this focus coincided with labor's interest—as in the farmworkers movement, the Farah boycott, programs for the poor, and the general civil rights thrust. At other times, however, Catholic activists clashed with trade unionists, at times over affirmative action and equal opportunity in the craft unions, and especially with the vigorous AFL-CIO support for the war in Vietnam. But mainly Catholic activists were shifting their attention from the producer (labor) side of life to the consumer side, with the transferring of organizational skills developed out of the labor movement to community organizing and the public interest movement.

Underlying this shift was a change in the social composition of Catholic social activists—from that of religious professionals of working-class origin, fighting predominantly for working-class rights within the larger society, to religious professionals who now reflect the interests of the exploding post-World War II "new (educated) class." This latter, created on the demand side by the sophistication and growth of technological society, and on the supply side by the rich educational opportunities from the GI Bill, is a complex group. It is a new generation, born as it was in the post-war period. It is a new class in terms of interests and concerns. Its composition embraces secular as well as religious activists, the latter including Protestants and Jews as well as Catholics. Of course it even includes some trade unionists. In what follows our focus will be mainly but not exclusively on the Catholic activists of this new class.

III. NEW CLASS/OLD CLASS

Inevitably some tension as well as distance grew between the U.S. labor movement (the "old class") and the new class generation of church activists. To the old generation, the new generation seemed forgetful of the great history of struggle which made its privileged posi-

tion possible. The seeming selfrighteousness and immaturity of the young new class often rubbed the old class the wrong way. To the new generation, the older one seemed blind to the structural defects which had accompanied their consolidation of power—particularly the exclusion of marginal sectors in domestic life and the apparent neo-imperialist aspects of U.S. foreign policy. Looking back now, with the perspective of some distance, on these early tensions, it seems that neither side had a monopoly of angels or devils, and that much of the tension was simply due to inexperience in communicating between the two groups in a new situation.

Of course, many have tried to over-dramatize the tension between these two social classes—pitting the "New Politics" against the "Old Politics" or the "New Catholic Social Action" against the "Old Catholic Social Action." While some of that conflict still remains, increasingly it seems that in both the general society and in the church, concerned and sensitive sectors of the two groups are beginning to cooperate. The new class is beginning to learn from the wisdom and experience of its elders, while the old class is beginning to take more seriously the critiques and challenges of the young. If such tendencies continue, some sort of integration could be in the offing. Such integration, in the view of many, is very important for the future of U.S. Catholic social thought and action, as well as for the nation as a whole. Within such a potential integration, classical labor concerns and the entire set of Detroit recommendations on Work could shift from the position of loser to sleeper, carrying as yet undiscovered significance.

But before exploring that possible discovery, let us return to examine the concern with labor in the Bicentennial process.

A. Parish Consultations

In the parish consultations, three areas of Work issues received significantly high scores: (1) employment (15,000); (2) inflation (13,063); and (3) meaning/value of work (11,391). What contrasts here with other areas of the parish consultations is the small number of action suggestions registered in proportion to the strong issue response. There was only one action suggestion for every four times employment and inflation were raised as issues. This may indicate, as the Working Paper hypothesizes, that "... economic problems seem shrouded in mystery and incapable of resolution. ..." If that is so, the question of structural analysis and education, dealt with in an earlier section, takes on great importance.

Occupying the middle ground in terms of numerical respondents were the two issue clusters: (1) wages/benefits/profit sharing (7,167), with nearly double the number of action suggestions (12,243); and (2) labor/management relations (7,332), with far less action suggestions (4,939).

Two other areas are ranked lowest as issue areas, namely: (1) the free enterprise system (not appearing directly as an issue, but only indirectly in the action suggestions where systemic re-evaluation was called for by 4,350 entries); and (2) discrimination (5,308) which received more than double that number in action recommendations (12,385). (Wk, WP, Summary)

It might be said that among Catholic social activists the lower ranking issue groups (free enterprise and discrimination) have more resonance with the "new class"; that the middle ranking body (wages/benefits/profit sharing and labor/management relations) have more resonance with the old class; and that the largest scoring areas (employment, inflation, and meaning/value of work) are important to both.

B. National Hearings

At the National Hearing on Work in Sacramento, there was surprisingly little input by voices typical of mainline labor leadership. Two main voices out of the old class were Allan Kistler, National Director of Or-

ganization and Field Services, AFL-CIO, and Msgr. George Higgins, the most public church figure still active from the former generation of labor priests. Even with Allan Kistler, however, the body heard the voice of an organizer, a breed of hard-nosed, but deeply idealistic trade unionists not always representative of the mainstream. With Msgr. Higgins, too, one heard the voice of a man who locates himself with the "organizing the unorganized thrust" of the labor movement. Both figures incidentally, have been major supporters within the church and labor for two other voices at the Hearings from a new labor generation, Cesar Chavez and Dolores Huerta of the United Farmworkers of America.

Chavez and Huerta painted strongly the call to which many in the new class responded, that of oppressed and deeply exploited Hispanic and black agricultural workers. Higgins and Kistler showed that such concern was not the unique property of the new class, but had deep roots in classical U.S. labor history.

In addition, a new theme, also more typical of the new class, emerged in the Hearings, namely the rights of church workers themselves. It probably seems ages ago that a California priest, Michael DuBay, called for a national union of priests. At the time, the suggestion seemed ridiculous to nearly everyone, but something similar has happened already across the ranks of church professionals. Like their secular professional counterparts, post-World War II church professionals organized themselves, during the sixties, into powerful blocs for some form of collective bargaining. For the most part, as with their secular counterparts, these bodies go under the name of "professional associations" rather than unions, but the social impact is similar. Thus we have seen a proliferation of clerical or semi-clerical organizations across U.S. Catholicism since Vatican II, paralleling a similar growth of collective bargaining structures (unions or associations) among secular professionals—the National Federation of Priests Councils, the National Assembly of Women Religious, the National Assembly of Religious Brothers, National Office of Black Catholics, National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs, PADRES, LAS HERMANAS, etc. The new class of church professionals, therefore, has taken very seriously the classical labor task of organizing the unorganized. In doing so they have focused predominantly on two groups, the most exploited (minorities and women, especially in the lowest socio-economic brackets) and themselves.

IV. CHALLENGES FOR THE NEW CLASS

A new challenge, however, faces the new class of church professionals, and it comes this time from organizers outside the ranks of church activists, or from old class labor types among church professionals. This is the task of organizing church lay workers. The typical case is the layworker, professional or other, in church schools and church hospitals, who is feeling deeply the economic pinch in an environment of consistent and serious inflation.

Here it is mainstream labor that is presenting the church, including new class social activists, with an unexpected challenge. It is a challenge which will either press the church to live up to the demands it has made of the secular world in its social teaching or else leave it open to the charge of hypocrisy; for the church cannot have a double standard, one for secular workers and one for church workers.

This new challenge touches the church's entire relation with the labor movement in perhaps more ways than people realize. If the church does not rise to this challenge, its old identification with U.S. working people could break down. At best, that could happen in the form of the deep embarrassment caused by speaking out on secular labor rights when one's own house is not in order—leading probably to prudential silence on all labor matters. Worse, the church could begin to

actually fight unionizing (as is already happening in some areas), linking the church more and more with aggressive anti-labor forces in our society. In either case, the great church/labor alliance built up over many generations in the United States could be undone in one new generation, with disastrous consequences for the on-going evangelization of U.S. working class people.

A second challenge comes from one of the other old class labor speakers at the Hearing, the national black leader, Bayard Rustin. In a hard-hitting address, the head of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, challenged the concerns of the new class in three areas—race, ecology, and world trade. To the first concern, he suggested that the changes from the 1960s were causing race and class to merge, and pointed out that equal opportunity to unemployment is a human disaster. Coincidentally, he defended the trade union movement as one of the most integrated institutions in the U.S. His claim is substantiated, on the male side at least, by a higher percentage of organized black male workers than white, but this, of course, does not speak to abiding racism within an integrated labor movement. (Racism remains, particularly in the division of labor and power, within the movement.) To the second concern, ecology, he challenged environmentalists who

ized pockets in the Third World. Here church professionals, whose missionary networks typically reach out to the more rural and urban marginal sectors (the "unorganized") of the Third World, could help create a more holistic global interpretation. Also, mainline labor could welcome a new church/labor alliance in the defense of trade union rights in the Third World (where trade unions are often brutally repressed or controlled by the state apparatus). Similarly, should labor come under new attack here at home as a result of the new international competition, the support of new class church professionals could be welcome in this area as well.

The mutuality of these challenges, then, could be laying the foundation for a revival under new form of a church/labor coalition. Let us now see what Detroit's recommendations may hold in this area.

VI. THE DETROIT RECOMMENDATIONS

The recommendations on Work from the Detroit conference spoke to four areas of concern: (1) equal opportunity; (2) economic justice; (3) responsibility in the world of work; and (4) apostolate. While the recommendations are too numerous and detailed to review here, it may be possible to analyze the basic thrust of each area.



The church faces new challenges in its relations with the labor movement.

approach the question in isolation from employment policy (increasingly a minority group within the ecological movement). To the third concern, free trade, he pointed out that the poor and working class are asked to share disproportionately in the burden caused by international production shifts.

Similar challenges could have been made in the name of another major theme among the new class, namely, the liberation of women. There, too, the sex factor, like factors of race, ecology, and the international, has been analyzed and strategized mainly in isolation from the class factor. But then sexual integration seems less advanced than racial integration in U.S. labor.

V. CHALLENGES FOR THE OLD CLASS

New challenges as well face the old class of church professionals, and indeed the mainline of U.S. labor. The first is the challenge of the marginal peoples in our domestic and world systems. While classical labor organized non-marginals in an environment of expanding social opportunity, the new class points to the needs of people permanently marginalized in an environment where social opportunity seems to be contracting.

On the domestic front, this category of marginals includes countless racial and ethnic minorities and women who have never been allowed to participate fairly in the mainstream of the U.S. production process. They are heavily confined to a secondary labor market, serving as a cushion for economic cycles of contraction and expansion. Increasingly, however, the outer cushion of marginals grows wider and whole sectors of society are now faced with long periods, perhaps a lifetime, without work (e.g., the approximately 40% unemployment rate among black teenagers).

The number of marginals explodes when one turns to the Third World, where some form of "triage" is already operative in the integrated world market system. This situation, coinciding structurally with the maturing of transnational industrialization and competition in a capital-intensive technological model, shatters the sacred assumptions of Cold War liberalism, which were so deeply imbibed by the old class, including mainline labor. What new assumptions and analysis are adequate to the new international situation remain a matter of hot controversy. What is clear, at least, is that the international dimension assumes a far greater role in shaping national policy than was the case before.

In this situation mainline labor movements may be somewhat handicapped in dealing with the international, since their networks touch chiefly the industrialized urban areas of the First World and industrial-

A. Equal Opportunity

The delegates recommended a process including plans, committees, surveys, monitoring agencies, a pastoral letter, etc. All of these would parallel in the church world the affirmative action strategy initiated over the last decade through the federal government. Those mentioned as needing affirmative action for equal opportunity in jobs and promotions are minorities, women, the handicapped, and the young and old.

Interwoven with the equal opportunity thrust is support for the Equal Rights Amendment for women, the promotion of full employment for the society at large, and concern for the corporate responsibility of multinational corporations operating in the Third World. (Wk I)

B. Economic Justice

The delegates recommended creation of a national Catholic Commission on Economic Justice. This commission, steeped in Catholic social teaching, would evaluate international and domestic conditions of the economic system with a view toward full employment and equal opportunity. It would take up the special task of evaluating our economic system and develop legislative reform programs in coalition with other groups. The Commission would consult with experts and be supported by parallel committees in dioceses, religious orders, and other Catholic organizations. Further, the NCCB would mandate the preaching and teaching of Catholic social teaching at all institutional levels. Within this thrust, the delegates supported repeal of the so-called "right to work" laws of 20 states, linked racism to the present "system," and endorsed the Equal Rights Amendment for women. (Wk II)

C. Responsibility in the World of Work

The delegates made a wide range of disparate recommendations touching on many topics, including general labor/management relations; organizing the unorganized; the rights of church employees to organize; the rights of business and business owners; research and experimentation with profit sharing, participative management, and cooperatives; the needs of agricultural workers, with particular support for the United Farmworkers of America, AFL-CIO; the dissemination of Catholic social doctrine; amnesty for undocumented immigrants; exposing U.S. multinational economic interests in Latin America; affirmative action for Vietnam veterans; and the establishment of diocesan commissions to monitor implementation of all of the above. (Wk III)

The preceding three areas of recommendations are not unusual in the contemporary church. With the next area, however, it appears that a new dimension of

creativity emerges, one which reflects awareness of the need for fresh pastoral strategies with U.S. working people.

D. Apostolate

This section sets the basic framework as incorporating Christian values into working life, taking the experience of work into account in formulating pastoral and social policy, and encouraging people to find greater meaning and purpose in working life. To this end, it recommends the following:

- that ministers be accountable to people in their world of work, and that for this purpose ministers be trained in Catholic social teaching, human science, and spirituality;
- that formation be encouraged of small groups of people in their shared work for the purpose of prayer, reflection, and constructive action;
- that dioceses recognize specialized ministries, such as pastoral centers, for the needs of working people;
- that career education become incorporated into Catholic education; that Catholic scholars, especially theologians and social scientists, utilizing the resources of the Catholic tradition, contemporary research, and the experience of working people, develop a theology of work and leisure;
- that they critique and evaluate economic life and identify alternatives to our present system of economic organization;
- that they evaluate the impact of concentrated ownership of wealth and resources and the proliferation of bureaucratic structures;
- that the USCC stimulate dialogue with labor, business, and citizens groups around the practical implementation of justice and provide information resources in this area for the local church.

The thrust of these recommendations resonates in part with the more radical working-class pastoral strategies, such as the priest-worker experiments so famous in France, or the worker-oriented *comunidades de base* (grassroots communities) so strong in Latin America and Italy. They suggest a new pastoral strategy for an environment where the church is losing contact with the mainstream working class. (Wk IV)

If the perceptions of this last section are accurate, then the Work document may be no loser at all, but only a sleeper. It could become one of the most significant of all the Detroit documents, particularly if the traditional class concerns of labor can be creatively linked with those of minorities and women, as well as with other marginalized groups like the handicapped and the young and old. Undoubtedly the discovery of such significance in the Work document, and particularly in the fourth set of recommendations (Apostolate), will only occur if the wisdom and experience of the old class is united with the challenge and vision of the new class.

VII. THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE

Some easy steps could be taken in the immediate future (short of the long-range recommendations of Detroit) to start such engagement. First, the church activists of the new class could begin to study the rich experience of the earlier generations of church and labor people devoted to the needs of working-class people. Second, church and labor people from those earlier generations who still continue their important work could set up forums for dialogue and mutual challenge with the post-World War II new class who moved to ministry with the marginal groups.

Such steps would probably best occur around concrete concerns, rather than in vague abstractions. Certainly, the new labor organizing thrust into the South, especially of textile (e.g., the J. P. Stevens case), sugar cane, and other agricultural workers, offers opportunity to build bridges across the generations and to lay new foundations for solidarity.

Such foundations are perhaps more important than most people realize, for the church's loyalty to working class people is no longer assured. A new generation of lay Catholics has grown up, and their number includes a significant percentage of middle-management Catholics transported from the North to non-union areas like the U.S. South or the Third World. Also, a minority of U.S. bishops and other religious leadership have set out on a confrontationalist path with teachers and hospital unions. They in turn receive backing from growing anti-labor sectors of the Catholic population. Against this background it seems important to build a new church/labor coalition—including old class church and labor activists, new class post-World War II church and secular activists, the many bishops and religious leaders who remain pro-labor, and the broad mass of low and middle income U.S. Catholics who see a strong labor movement linked to their struggle for justice and security. If such a coalition does not emerge, the Western European church's tragic loss of the 19th Century industrial working class could be repeated, at least in part, on U.S. soil 100 years later.

Ministry and Mission

I. INTRODUCTION

In calling the Detroit conference *A Call to Action*, the bishops specifically noted its implementation of Pope Paul's letter of the same name. This had asked from each individual "a livelier awareness of personal responsibility" and "effective action." The bishops in the 1971 Synod declared that work to transform the world to a more just society was a constitutive part of the ministry of the church, making it as inseparable from the church's mission as are preaching the Gospel and providing sacramental life.

The people of God are called to ministry quite insistently throughout the Bicentennial process. The calls represent real needs of the people. If these needs are to be met at all adequately both the bishops and the people will have to respond, not only in new ministries but in new approaches to ministry and new attitudes toward each other. A beginning was made at Detroit.

II. HOW MINISTRIES EMERGE

Ministry in the church has a history. This means that its forms have not been static, but have adapted to various needs and circumstances.

The missionary churches of St. Paul's time recognized, honored, and supported the charismatic gifts discernible in men and women. Gradually ministries became specialized. Some people were set aside to lead the church, others to feed the poor. Over the centuries, as the church strove to preserve its unity while growing into a broadly scattered, very large organization, it became more centralized, more hierarchized, and particularly more clericalized. Bishops and priests, all men, became a professional class, separated from the laity for specialized training and status of leadership.

One consequence of this clericalization has been an intermittent tension among the needs of people, the inability of the restricted clerical order to respond to them, and the claim by some groups to special charisms. Out of this tension grew the church's recognition of religious orders, appearing at various times to minister to dominant needs for prayer, preaching, the witness of poverty, teaching, healing, or serving basic human needs. In order to secure adequate power to promote their evangelical goals, most of the male religious orders also became clericalized, thus becoming distinct from orders of women and non-clerical men. Out of the basic tension grew also a repeated inability on the part of the hierarchy to accept the gifts and services of lay persons and groups who were unwilling to assume the precise form of religious congregations, or function in total dependence on the clerical order.

One of the "signs of our times" is that that particular structuring is being reexamined. Partly as the result of a more Biblical spirituality, a movement has begun to clericalize, though not to destroy, priestly and episcopal structures. In the interests of evangelizing the alienated and unchurched, priests are adopting ministries which integrate them into lay activities. Lay people and non-clerical religious, especially women, encouraged by the theology of Vatican II, are sensing the call of the Spirit in their talents and energies and are seeking mature pastoral responsibilities in the church. Third World peoples and minority groups in the developed world have a new consciousness of their dignity and of the inadequacy of ministry from outside their own ranks.

These developments—to watchful eyes, a new effusion of the Holy Spirit—appear to be a providential response to the multiple needs of our times: the dramatic rise in population, lengthened life-span, shifting sex roles, the end of colonialism, worldwide instant communication, unstable social classes, family disruption, the secularization of thought and customs, the widespread alienation from institutional religion, etc.

In the midst of such tumultuous changes in our world, the Catholic bishops in the United States expressed the desire to hear from the people themselves expressions of need and appropriate church response.

III. DETROIT'S VIEW OF MINISTRIES

1. Ministering Church

From almost every topic which the bishops' Liberty and Justice for All Program treated, the church was summoned to ministry. The people consulted did not seek to turn the church away from the traditional ministries of preaching the Gospel and providing sacramental life. They wanted these renewed and expanded. But they also asked for ministries to respond to their new needs and new opportunities to impact their neighborhoods, nation, and world.

Unity prevailed in honoring and respecting the Catholic hierarchy, the pope, bishops and priests. Nevertheless tensions surfaced concerning who is



Ministry . . . not only by the ordained clergy but also by lay persons.

eligible for these ranks of ministry. The bishops were urged to influence the Holy See to appoint more bishops from ethnic and racial minorities (E/R II, 7), to admit married men to the priesthood and women to both diaconate and priesthood. (Ch I, 8-11)

Moreover, the delegates were clear that: "Ministry is exercised through various apostolates and services not only by the ordained clergy but also by lay persons as well." (Ch, Intro) In the interest of justice, such ministries are to be recognized and honored (Ch I, Intro), especially such as are already performed by women. (Ch II, 5) There is a plea for the professional, theological, pastoral, and specialized training necessary for men and women, lay, religious, or clergy, who will be involved in the ministries needed to provide competent pastoral care. (Ch II, 3-b)

2. Parish and Diocese

The desire to see parishes and dioceses contribute to the health and development of neighborhoods brought an expanded concept of ministry. Within parishes there is a call for person-to-person assistance, but also for facilitators to lead in the solution of problems. (Ngh II, 1) Current inner-city situations call for a "missionary approach." (Ngh II, 7) Particular ministries are needed to the alienated, those handicapped mentally, physically or socially, and "others whom society shuns." (Ngh I, 2-c) Two recommendations in particular would posit changes in contemporary understanding of parish and ministry: 1) "the formation of strong, small, sensitive, eucharistic communities, recognizing diversity (Ngh I, 1-b); and 2) the "identification, authentication, and institution into ministries and/or ordination of leaders from the community." (Ngh I, 1-c)

Dioceses must recognize their responsibility to establish an office of ministry of social concern. (Ngh III, 6) In addition diocesan pastoral planning (Fam I, 1 and 3; Ngh II, 4) and parish twinning and cooperation are recommended, as well as organizing roles (Ngh II, 3) and coalition building with the civic community. (Ngh I, 4-a) Ministries of advocacy for the poor are called for. (Ngh III, 9 and 10) The rural community is represented as being in need of new structures and ministries appropriate to its needs, such as mobile teams of resource persons and lay leadership and ministry. (Ngh IV, 6)

3. Family Ministry

For family ministry the delegates ask the bishops to take the lead in developing a comprehensive pastoral attitude and plan. (Fam I, 1 and 3) The plan calls for "recognition of the special competency of permanent deacons and lay people, especially married couples, in family ministry." (Fam I, 4-c) These latter should be sought out and assured roles of leadership and authority. (Fam I, 4-c) Appropriate training and just allocation of resources for such ministry will be needed. (Fam I, 4-c)

The ministry is not to be just to families in difficulty, but to strong marriages also with a special thrust

to help those families be open to the injustices of the world and reach out to others' needs. (Fam II, 2) Dioceses and parishes are asked to extend a ministry of pastoral care, education and support to separated, divorced, and divorced/remarried Catholics. (Fam III, 1)

4. Special Ministries

The delegates frequently highlighted special needs—for workers, for immigrants, for women, for homosexuals, for the young, the aging, racial and ethnic groups. For the latter, ministerial needs range from identification of the population and their needs at the local level (E/R II, 2-a) to new, less alienating formation processes for members of these communities who desire to minister. (E/R II, 3-b and c) Native Americans and other distinct groups need church personnel drawn from volunteers, from the psychologically prepared, from those willing to accept regular cross-cultural sensitivity training and ready to undertake advocacy positions. (E/R III, 6 and 7-a and b)

If the needs of people and the nation as a whole are to be addressed, one key area is the media. Church people and organized groups are urged to influence policies of television and other media in order to counteract the dehumanizing values of consumerism, materialism, excessive violence, and irresponsible sex. In their place, human values, aesthetic and motivational programming is to be stressed. (Fam II/4; Nat III, 3)

IV. CHALLENGE OF DETROIT

Expansion of ministry today offers perhaps the greatest potential for realizing the mission of the church. The Detroit recommendations give valuable direction to the future of that ministry. By approaching ministry through the felt needs of individuals and groups, the delegates took the first step in outlining a methodology for pastoral planning: learning the needs. Faced with the needs, the delegates did not carefully distinguish professional clergy from lay personnel to fill those needs, but described functionally what needed to be done, what training and/or education seemed essential to the task. One had a sense of Biblical ministry where varieties of ministry functioned for service to the community, and had not yet been gathered up into one professional class. Because the gifts of the Spirit, as well as needs of the people, are recognized as myriad, ministry is also pluriform and culturally diverse.

What may not have been recognized adequately at Detroit is the impact of state agencies and other secular institutions on areas formerly considered as church ministry, such as hospitals, schools, orphanages, homes for the aged. What specifically is the church called to do in today's society? Maintain parallel institutions or integrate into the larger society? At one and the same time, the church is called by contemporary community crises to compassionate outreach and to work for a structural renewal of society.

In another area one might wonder if Detroit's words do justice to the great crisis in family life descending upon the nation today. Major structural changes, many for the worse, have been invading family life pushing it toward disintegration. Nearly 40% of all marriages now end in divorce. Parents are spending less and less time with their children and even less and less with each other, pressured as they often are by separate jobs. A majority of the nation's mothers with school age children now work outside the home. TV comes to replace personal relationships. In addition, the demands society is making upon people in families appear to undermine the central role played by family in social life. A society without strong families can be neither a just nor a creative society. Clearly the need for well-thought pastoral initiatives is great in this area.

The Detroit delegates did convey the need of recognizing non-sacramental ministries as well as sacramental in trying to address current needs. What is not developed—and must be developed in the near future—is the integration of the sacramental with para-liturgical services, with priests involving themselves in more than the sacraments and lay ministers being authenticated to complete specific services with sacramental power. If not in every minister, certainly within the worshipping community this integration must be visible.

It is already within the competence of national conferences to install lay ministers to perform leading and stable roles within definable services thus opening the way (provided women are included) for cultural diversity. It seems especially important, in the light of the complaints from the parish consultations about homilies, that diverse people, not only priests, proclaim the word so that that word may shed light on concrete situations. The concept—particularly for work situations and among racial and ethnic groups—of leaders

emerging from the community and receiving part-time training for ministry holds promise for the future as it did in the origins of the church.

The Detroit delegates urged the United States bishops to use influence to persuade Pope Paul to admit women to priesthood. With the recent publication of the Declaration by the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, priestly ordination is denied to women. Because the reasons supporting that conclusion appear so controversial, another of Detroit's resolutions concerning ordination of women requires even more urgent attention than when it was made: to conduct a serious inter-disciplinary conference to study the matter. (Ch II, 2) Such a conference might well prepare for and promote the introduction of this topic to the Synod of 1980.

The final documents from Detroit convey an immense hope, an energy, a pleading for the services of the church but an eagerness to be of service also. There is an urgency for the message of the Gospel to penetrate persons, groups, structures, national policies. People are asking to be empowered. There is something peculiarly Catholic in the desire to have whatever ministry is undertaken acknowledged and honored, to have their small prayer/reflection communities somehow official, even though they meet under lay leadership. It is the peoples' desire not to grow apart from their priests and bishops which produces the insistence that there be an ongoing educational renewal of the clergy and bishops especially with reference to the church's commitment to justice. (Pers I, 5; Hkd I, 8b; Ngh III, 3, d)

The parish discussions had surfaced a great desire for home masses. As outlined in final form these have become more like basic Christian communities providing for ongoing study, support, and prayer, where Biblical truths would be related to the needs of the participants and the problems of the area. This is a church seeking intimacy rather than grandeur and a minister who can lead in personal and group analysis of how to make sense of our world in the light of the Christian mystery. There is no denial of the sacramental efficacy of the priest, but a sense of a broader sacramentality to be explored also. No hostility to parish or diocese comes through, but rather a yearning for leadership that understands, reaches out, says "yes" in a supportive way.

What the recommendations on ministry ask of priests and especially bishops is what may be called a theology of relinquishment, a willingness to "let go" of tight controls in order to free people to express the Spirit at work within them, to trust that Spirit in others as much as in themselves, but also to develop mutual accountability. What these recommendations ask of the laity is the courage to take initiatives, and to give time and thought to awakening their own and others' consciences in critiquing their concrete religious, economic, political, social, and family situations.

Both groups need to take seriously the word so frequently spoken by Jesus: "Be not afraid." "Fear not!" With mutual trust and courage the church in the U.S. should be able to realize the dream set forth in the first document of the Liberty and Justice for All process: "The most significant contribution the church can make to social justice is the formation of a community with a conscience." (Guide, p. 6)

Who will control our common heritage?



Goals for Public Policy

The Center of Concern strongly endorses these national policy recommendations found in *Nationhood*.

This assembly recognizes and calls to the attention of our Catholic people the leadership of our bishops on the various issues of human life and rights, such as world hunger and world peace, housing, economic justice, racism and the aged.

We urge the entire Catholic community, working as church and in cooperation with the total community, to promote a critical reordering of national priorities and policies to give primary consideration to human rights and human needs. Therefore, as one body of concerned Americans, speaking on behalf of the participants in the national Catholic bicentennial program, we recommend to the nation the following goals for public policy:

1. A national commitment to a policy of peace and to programs of disarmament that will release resources now committed to preparation for war to meet the basic social needs of peoples.

2. A national commitment to a policy that provides for the protection of human life from the moment of its conception and at every stage of its existence, a national policy which respects human life by providing alternatives to abortion and by working to eliminate its causes.

3. A national commitment to economic and social justice and the elimination of poverty and of racism as an effective means of reducing crime. This policy should include programs to involve citizens, neighborhoods and organizations in preventing crime and in monitoring the criminal justice system, especially aimed at humanizing the penal system; knowledge of the rights of the accused, adequate legal representation, representative juries, competent judges, speedy trials, due process and judicial integrity; just compensation to victims of crime; abolition of capital punishment; development of alternatives to prisons, rehabilitative services and reintegration of offenders into the community.

4. A national commitment to income security by providing opportunities for employment with sufficient compensation for all who can work and by providing adequate income for those unable to support themselves.

5. Reform of public policies to effect more equitable taxation at all levels of government by shifting the burden of taxation to those most able to pay.

6. A public policy of comprehensive health care, as a fundamental and essential human right, for every person regardless of income, age, social status or place of residence.

7. Measures to limit speculation in land and excessive ownership of the land by individual and corporate interests; to promote conserva-

tion of natural resources and to protect the environment through stewardship of the land, water and air; to involve local communities in policy decisions about land use.

8. Speedy public action to insure decent housing at reasonable cost to all Americans.

9. A national foreign policy more resolutely and more explicitly supportive of the human rights and dignity of all peoples, a policy that restructures its activities in the areas of trade, investment and assistance in line with principles of justice and with the developmental needs and priorities of Third and Fourth World countries through, among other things:

a) Denial of military and economic aid or preference to any nation violating internationally recognized standards of human and civil rights;

b) Support for international commodity price agreements;

c) Opening of the United States' markets to exports from the Third and Fourth World;

d) A code of behavior for United States multinational corporations.

10. A national commitment to end racism in the United States by guaranteeing equal opportunity in education, housing, and employment for racial and ethnic minorities. As part of this commitment to racial justice, we urge cooperation with federal court decisions to desegregate school systems and we oppose the redlining and disinvestment of neighborhoods that accompany racial change.

11. A commitment to quality education for all students so that they might enjoy meaningful work and lifestyles. This goal would include full recognition of student rights.

12. We promote full equality under the law for men and women in the United States and in every state of the Union. We endorse the Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

13. A revision of immigration laws and policies to respond more fairly to present and future needs including:

a) Amnesty for undocumented aliens;

b) Acceptance of refugees, both economic and political;

c) Prompt reunification of families;

d) That any persons entering this nation over 30 years of age be extended the right to take the citizenship test in his native language since many come to work rather than to study.

14. Unconditional amnesty to all draft, military and civilian resisters to the Vietnam war.

15. Reform of public assistance to make it more adequate to meet the needs of the poor, to be supportive of their efforts toward self-reliance, to encourage community self-help to support family and neighborhood structures and to rectify disproportionate state and local welfare burdens by developing equitable and coordinated financing of federally-mandated welfare programs.

In This Spirit

Community was the strong word, the lived reality in the Detroit assembly. The delegates worked and voted in that spirit. A community of Spirit. A servant community. Their recommendations use words like "faith community," "eucharistic community." Decidedly they were a trusting community. They trusted one another. They trusted their bishops. They trusted that the Liberty and Justice for All Program would, as it had begun, carry on in trust . . . out of Detroit's Cobo auditorium . . . on to Chicago where in May the bishops would make their response . . . and on still further into the next five years.

A community of service. The delegates had their symbol in the Suffering Servant, prophesied by Isaiah, lived out in Jesus Christ. A servant people in his stead cannot choose but be a community of ministry, indeed of many ministries. And so the delegates strongly urged and recommended that the pressing needs of no one person or group be ignored.

A servant community bound to service, emptied of self, freed. The call was therefore to a theology of relinquishment, to let go of privileges, to be critical of values held, ideologies, preconceptions, and, where indicated, theological understanding. Equally it was a call to a spirituality of liberation, to a freeing of the heart for loving service and for entry of the Spirit.

A community under the Cross and God's judgment, acutely aware of its failures and falterings, failures as individuals, failures as a People, in church life and institutions, in social outreach. Early on, the goal had been set of forming a "community of conscience." This would be no easy task. It would require the development of informed consciences, coming to grips with issues, analyzing disabling structures, judging and discerning. There would be need

too for inventiveness in searching for solutions, and imagination stretching out creatively for new possibilities. And a community, however energetically engaged in work for justice, never yielding to activism devoid of prayer.

The Cross again as guarantor for all who in a lifetime of struggle for justice would see no fruits. Guarantee that in hard times there is in the sharing of the darkness and abandonment of the Crucified One, a squaring up of contradictions and crosses with the hope for justice and the humanization of life.

But after the Cross, the Resurrection. And so the Detroit delegates proclaimed themselves . . . strong, vibrantly, a community of hope. Hope before the marvel of resurrection, of new life. Hope before the mystery of people working with God. In that rising they found the promise and the power of the Spirit given. Hope that transcends time but hope also for this time. Hope that, grounded in hope-for-the-beyond, justice, peace and the humanization of life are realizable goals.

And so a strong hope before the mystery, the task, of humanizing the inhuman, within ourselves, within our community, within our world and its structures. Hope because Jesus calls us to it just as his own life was call to the needs of the poor, the blind, the lame and dumb. But no longer his walking and curing. Now it is ours. Our work . . . transformed by the Lord, yes . . . but ours. Because in Jesus ascended a piece of humankind has been accepted irrevocably. Jesus, sign, therefore efficacious sign, that our world "has already been set right." And sign that what has been accomplished in his humanness can be accomplished in ours.

Discussion Questions

BACKGROUND AND PROCESS

1. Do you think it was a right understanding of "church" for the bishops to have begun the Liberty and Justice for All process by reaching out to the people? Would it be better in your mind for them to have decided for the people?
2. Do you feel your own concerns were included in the issues addressed during the Bicentennial process? If not, what other issues would you include?
3. Are you hopeful for the future as you anticipate the May meeting of U. S. bishops? Will you try to be actively involved in the concrete programs as they emerge?
4. Do you think another round of parish consultations to reach groups not included the first time would be a good idea? Would you make the effort to attend your parish discussions if they were to be held?
5. Can you think of better ways to involve the church more in the life and concerns of ordinary people than the Liberty and Justice for All process? Would you like to be able to make your suggestions to people in power?
6. Should there be another national assembly as at Detroit? If so, at the half-way mark of the five year program? How could such an assembly be made more representative? Could a process be devised permitting fuller reflection? Could/should it be made more democratic?

SOCIAL ANALYSIS

1. Does social analysis seem important, or is it really just a distraction?
2. What does the term social analysis mean to you now?
3. What are the most pressing issue problems, in your judgment, for our present society? Do you see any links among these problems? If these problems were to be solved, how would the whole society have to change to work out that solution?
4. How can we deepen our social analysis? What impact will this have on our own personal lives? What impact will this have on our whole church?

THEOLOGY: THE CHURCH OF DETROIT

1. What are "signs of the times"? How do people learn to read the "signs of the times"? Is every event such a sign? How is God present in them? Revealing? Guiding? Calling?
2. Are there negative signs? Signs of God's wrath? Are there ambiguous signs? Would China today be such an ambiguous sign?
3. How does social analysis enter into reading the "signs of the times"?
4. What meaning has the Suffering Servant model for the church in the U. S.? For a theology of renunciation? Does the church rely too much on power and money for evangelization? On ceremony and buildings?



CENTER OF CONCERN
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The Center of Concern is an independent, interdisciplinary team engaged in social analysis, religious reflection and public education around questions of social justice with particular stress on the international dimension. Holding consultative status with the United Nations, the Center has participated in many UN conferences on international social policy—issues of population, food, women's rights, trade, development and unemployment. The Center also has outreach into the policy-making religious and civic community. Its bi-monthly newsletter, **CENTER FOCUS**, is available free of charge. The Center has no assured means of income and so welcomes contributions toward its work.

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5. What lines of action for the Catholic community are proposed (or persons to be cared for) in the various sets of recommendations from Detroit? Are you moved to action in any of these directions? Do you exclude from your concern or love any particular type of person or any particular class?
6. What organization or structure should you or could you belong to in order for your concerns to result in effective change? What structures does the church need to create?
7. Does your lifestyle (bishop, priest, religious, lay person) correspond to your talk about caring, sharing, and sharing—residence, use of money, car, recreation, vacation, demand for recognition, use of power, travel?
8. Do you believe in co-responsibility?
9. If priest, bishop, or in an administrative or leadership position in a church organization (school, hospital, etc.) are you prepared to share responsibility? Admit others to decision-making? Do you accept accountability for parish/diocesan/religious community funds? Do you stand for justice for all employees—in terms of wage, voice, collective bargaining, social security?
10. Are you ever prepared to denounce injustice? At personal discomfort? What is the church's role here? Local ordinary's? Priest's? Sister's? Lay person's?

COMMUNITY OF PERSONS

1. What is meant by "building a church"? "Building a world"? How are these tasks related?
2. Why do you think people are searching for community?
3. What communities do you feel a part of? Neighborhood? Work? Friends? Prayer group? Parish? Club? What do they contribute to your life? What do they ask of you?
4. How can you build community? What are the barriers to community? How can they be lessened?
5. What is the difference between experiencing yourself as an individual and as a person?
6. Do you share your feelings with anyone? Would you like to if you could? Do you think it would be a good thing to do? Why?
7. Do you think of yourself as a person? Or as one who performs roles (like father, wife, secretary, miner, etc.)? How can you be a person while filling roles? How do you deal with your rights and responsibilities as a person?
8. Do you experience the church as a "community organized under the Gospel"? Why? Why not?
9. Would you like to pray with others? Form a prayer group? Do you think community could grow that way? What tools or help would you think necessary to make a prayer community possible?
10. How did the Call to Action delegates see the church in the U. S. moving to become a true community of persons? A faith community?

DETROIT AND WORLD JUSTICE

1. What is meant by an "interdependent world"? How wide is the gap between rich and poor nations? What roles do trade, credit, technology and multinational corporations play in the gap between rich and poor? What does this gap mean in terms of the life of most people in the poor nations?
2. How do you respond to the problems of the rest of the world? Do you dismiss them? Are you obliged to be in solidarity with the poor of the world? What does this mean?
3. What is the Third World asking for in its call for a New International Economic Order (NIEO)? How has the U. S. responded? How do you respond?
4. Do you accept unthinkingly the many myths about how generous the U. S. is to the poor nations? How fair U. S. trade policies? How beneficent U. S. foreign investment?
5. How do you react to the proposal of "triage" as a way of dealing with problems of world population and food?
6. Do you believe that God calls us to share the world's resources more fairly? To care about the baneful effects of environmental pollution in the U. S.? To change consumption patterns?
7. What do you think about extending U. S. control of the seas to 200 miles beyond our shores? About sharing the wealth of the deep seabeds as a common heritage?
8. Would you accept stronger forms of world authority if needed to promote world justice?

WOMEN IN CHURCH AND SOCIETY

1. How did women function in the unfolding of the Liberty and Justice for All process? Is the experience of women in this situation unique?
2. What are the Christian bases for women's liberation? In theology? Philosophy of person? The history of women's development?
3. What factors made many Catholic women become alive to the women's liberation movement?
4. What socio-economic difficulties are faced by women of different classes, ages, life situations?
5. Illustrate the difference between personal difficulties and structural problems affecting women.
6. What groups of women seem untouched by or antagonistic to the women's movement? Why?
7. What goals should the women's movement press toward? What deficiencies in its scope should it address? How?
8. What did the Call to Action delegates recommend concerning women in society? Do you agree? What did the Call to Action delegates recommend concerning women in the church? Do you agree?
9. How has the Declaration on the Admission of Women to Ordained Priesthood affected the question of women in the church?

EDUCATION FOR JUSTICE

1. What are the goals of education as portrayed in the Liberty and Justice for All Program? What aspects of traditional education are criticized?
2. What does commitment to the Gospel imply for education?
3. Who does your thinking for you? On disarmament? On arm sales? On human rights and needs? On whether and to what extent the U. S. economic system promotes justice? Is compatible with Christian values? With stewardship over God's gifts? With sharing resources with the world's poor?
4. Do you think Pope Paul and the bishops have the right to invite Catholics everywhere to reflect on their socio-economic and political systems? What does your answer reflect in terms of the role of your Christian faith? Of your responsibilities?

CHURCH AND LABOR

1. How do you think the church relates to the world of work? If there is a problem in the relationship, what is it, and what are its causes? What does the future seem to be bringing in this area?
2. What do you think about your own work? Its schedule? Conditions of work? Its impact on the rest of your life? The people you live with? Would you like to see changes? If so, what kind? Can these changes be initiated? By you? By joint effort with others?
3. How do you personally feel toward the labor movement? Why?
4. What social class are you in and how does this influence your attitude toward the labor movement? Which generation are you in and how does this influence your attitude?
5. Should church and labor grow closer together, and if so, how?
6. What impact would such growing solidarity have on labor? What impact would it have on church? Can you list some concrete steps which you might pursue right now in this area?

MINISTRY AND MISSION

1. How did the Synod of 1971 enlarge the view of the church's ministry?
2. Is a church which concentrates all recognized ministry in ordained priesthood adequately structured to meet today's needs? If not, what changes would you suggest?
3. Why did the U. S. bishops in the Liberty and Justice for All process seek to learn the needs of people?
4. Do you feel that listening to the Gospel and receiving the sacraments fill real needs in your life?
5. For what felt needs did the Call to Action delegates recommend ministry? Which of these needs are dominant in your life? In your area?
6. What ministries are demonstrated in the New Testament?
7. What special problems beset the family today? What are the factors that tend to isolate family members? What can families do to lessen the barriers to a strong family life? What can communities do?
8. How would all people in the church be affected by the adoption of a broad view of ministry? What new ministries ought to be recognized? How would you be affected?